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MUNICIPAL

Contest Entered by the Duluth Socialists.

Socialism vs. Capitalism.

The Socialists of Duluth, Minn., Issue a Declaration, Adopt a Platform, and Nominate a Municipal Ticket—Letter of Acceptance by the Mayoralty Candidate.

DULUTH, Minn., Dec. 24.—The Socialist Labor Party of this city went at an early hour into convention for the pending municipal elections. It adopted the following

Declaration and Platform:

"The Socialist Labor Party of Duluth, acknowledging the self-evident facts that labor creates all wealth, that the instruments of production are the result of social co-operation, maintains that the wealth created by co-operative labor should be owned by that social class which performs said labor—the Laboring Class.

"Realizing that victory at the polls in municipal election cannot fulfill this measure of justice to the working class, and that this can only be brought about by victory in national election; while never losing sight of our final aim, the conquest of the public power by the working class, to restore to those who alone can use them, the means of production and distribution; the Socialist Labor Party of Duluth presents for your consideration the following platform, to uphold which, with every power at their command, each candidate nominated by the Socialist Labor Party is solemnly pledged.

"I.—The city to acquire street railways, electric plants and all public utilities, same to be operated by the employees co-operatively under control of city administration. The employees to elect their own superintendent, foremen, etc., except such as are elected by the direct vote of the people; no employee to be discharged for political reasons.

"II.—The city to establish a free employment bureau, where the workers can secure reliable aid in obtaining employment free of charge.

"III.—Abolition of contract labor on all city works; direct employment of labor by the city; the city to adopt means for the relief and employment of the unemployed, as circumstances will allow.

"IV.—Minimum wage of adult employees to be not less than two dollars per day; 8 hours to constitute the work day.

"V.—All city printing to bear the Union label; and all material used by the city to be the product of Union labor when such can be procured.

"VI.—Rigid enforcement of sanitary conditions of streets, alleys, lots, lands, factories and workshops within the city limits.

"VII.—In case of disputes, etc., between workingmen and capitalists, the city administration shall aid in every possible manner the just demands of the workers; (for instance) by the appropriation of money, etc.

"VIII.—The acquirement by the city of vacant lots and lands within the city limits, and the erection thereon of sanitary and comfortable homes with modern conveniences, to be let by the city to the working people, at a rental calculated on cost of repairs and administrative expenses.

"IX.—Free medical attendance to be furnished at the homes of the applicant when necessary; also free medicine, and the establishment by the city of municipal bakeries, milk depots, drug stores, coal yards, laundries and other agencies for furnishing the people, at cost price, pure food and other necessaries now sold for profit, free public baths.

"X.—School education of all children under 14 years to be compulsory, the city to furnish food and clothing to children when necessary.

"XI.—All business of the City Council to be transacted in public. The abolition of secret sessions."

The convention nominated the following

Ticket.

For Mayor,
J. H. OPPERMAN.
For Alderman (6th Ward),
EDWARD KRIZ.
For Alderman (2d Ward),
JULIUS DWORSCHAK.

Comrade Opperman, the candidate for Mayor, wrote the following

Letter of Acceptance:

The Socialist Labor Party in convention assembled, having nominated me for the office of Mayor of the City of Duluth, I desire to express my appreciation of the confidence placed in me. I accept the nomination, and offer the following brief explanation of my stand.

Society is divided into two great classes—the Working Class and the Capitalist Class.

The Working Class produces all wealth, the Capitalist Class appropriates it. It keeps the Working Class in poverty and wage slavery. It uses the wage workers when it needs them to grind out more profits; it leaves them to fate when it has no further need of them. The wage slaves of to-day are treated with less consideration than were the chattel slaves of fifty years ago.

Fellow Wage Workers: Our emancipation must be accomplished by the conquest of the political power. The Capitalist Class can only hold its power over us so long as it has control of the government, municipal, State and National.

So long as it is the ruling class, so long will it legislate for its own instincts and use all the powers of government to keep us in subjection and wage slavery,—subjects of merciless exploitation; and it has proven numberless times that it will not hesitate to shoot down, in cold blood, the workers when they revolt against such degrading conditions and demand better.

Fellow Workingmen! You have the power to sweep those parasites and their political lackeys out of every public office, and send in their place men from the ranks of your own class, pledged to support your own interests, and held to strict account by your own Party—the Socialist Labor Party.

Every election day finds the citadel Capitalism with doors unbolted. Demand its unconditional surrender by casting your vote for the S. L. P. By so doing you are not voting for persons but for principle.

Every candidate you elect on the Socialist Labor Party ticket assumes his office as your political servant—not your master. Should he prove unfaithful to his trust he is subject to recall. Therefore, I ask for your votes, not as marks of personal friendship or favor, but as fellow members of the Working Class, whose interests are identical the world over.

I pledge myself, should I be elected, to put forth every effort and use every power vested in me by virtue of said office, to secure the enactment of such laws and ordinances as are demanded in our municipal platform. In conducting the affairs of said office, it shall be my constant aim to advance by every honorable means the interests of the Working Class.

With this pledge, I ask all wage workers—if you believe in the demands of our platform and the principles of our Party—lend your shoulders to the wheel and on to victory. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have the world to gain.

J. H. OPPERMAN.

Failures in Boston, failures in Chicago, failures in St. Louis, failures in New York, crashes everywhere, what a fit orchestration for the Prosperity Howlers, and the candle-holderss of this best of all possible social systems!

The depatches from San Francisco, telling of the return on the Zealandia of two companies of Montana volunteers, who brought with them $150,000 of private loot, contribute their share to enlighten the world upon the sort of civilization that our Republican capitalist Federal Government is trying to ram down the throats of the Filipinos.

Private booty is a feature of uncivilized warfare. Under the folds of the Stars and Stripes, the example of barbarism is being set to the Filippinos.

The raid on the Philippine Islands is developing into a two-edged sword,—with both edges turned upon our working class. By the conquest of the islands our American "Labor Market" is to be overstocked; and by the degradation of the element that is to do the overstocking, our people are sure to be pulled down, too.

"Union Wrecking" is being illustrated in Brocton, Mass. A short time ago, there was much activity among the workingmen towards organizing unions of their respective crafts. Hatters, bakers, pressmen, and many other unions were forming, when suddenly all activity in that direction was stopped. Why? Because of the disruption that the Boot and Shoemakers' Union fell a prey to, owing to the manœuvre of their Labor-Fakir national officers, Tobin and Eaton, in compelling the men to pay high dues.

The Labor Fakir is THE "Union Wrecker." That valuable aid towards the emancipation of the working class—the Union—once it has fallen into the hands of the Labor Fakir, is blighted for good. The Fakir, being stupid, ignorant and corrupt, runs the Union in such a course that it is bound to go upon the rocks. The workingmen of all trades, seeing disaster, tyranny and enslavement falling upon the Union men, do not join organizations, and those who are in do their best to get out.

Thus Unionism becomes a by-word, and the Unions are wrecked. It is left to the Socialist Trades & Labor Alliance, not only to cleanse the word, but to rehabilitate the trade organization, by constructing class-conscious unions, and providing them with such regulations that the Labor Fakir could simply not breathe in them;—in short, to smash "pure and simpledom."

Just now, when the subsidized press of America is singing the praises of England as a civilizer, and seeking to win for that international brow-beater of mankind the love of the American people with cock-and-bull stories about the civilization and prosperity that England is bleeding to introduce into the Transvaal, it may be interesting to find out the sort of prosperity that she has cultivated in her South African colonies.

Ramsden Balmforth says in the "Labour Quarterly Co-partnership," that during the year ending March 31, 1899, free lodging had to be furnished, in Cape Town alone, to 46,367 people. In other words, on that virtually still virgin ground, a huge army of the unemployed, with all the misery that that implies, already is a social institution.

THE STORY OF THE BULL PEN.

Never Told Before—Now Told by the Socialist Labor Party

By THOMAS A. HICKEY.

Mike Devine.

Crispus Attucks, Murdered by British Soldiers, Boston, Mass., 1770; John Brown, Hanged by Slaveholders, 1859; Mike Devine, Murdered by the Ruling Class in the Bull Penn at Wardner, Idaho, 1899.

"Tell the boys not to sign the permits."

Revolutions have their Baptists. "Make straight the way," they cry.
Crispus Attucks was our first one, "Come on, boys, let's do or die."
Then John Brown cried "Death to Slavery," now we hear the words, "Don't sign."
And we answer back class conscious, "You're our Baptist, Mike Devine."

Shall we build him a monument, comrades, shall we carve on granite his name?
This man of our class who died as he lived, a martyr, a hero, whose fame
Will resound when we've passed from this life and our class slaves no more in the plutocrat's mine,
When free men will lay wreaths on his grave and repeat the words of the hero, "don't sign."

Seventeen hundred and seventy saw Yankee men shot dead.
In fifty-nine John Brown was hanged—read ye the omen red.
King George went down; black slavery died, ye capitalists, mark the sign;
Ye tolled the knell of our system's rule when you murdered Mike Devine.

Listen, O workers, and answer, how shall we best serve the Cause
He was murdered for defending; how best change the brutal laws
That they tortured him to death with, heed the words of Mike Devine,
Vote to own the mine and workshop; for the robber class "don't sign."

Death to the rule of the robber; raise ye the Socialist flag.
From Germany, Belgium and France they cry, "Why do our comrades lag?"
Give the world this message: "We are building a monument fine
With the broken chains of the wage-slave, in memory of Mike Devine.

—STANISLAUS CULLEN.

INTRODUCTORY.

For the past eight months, in every portion of the nation, the term Bull Pen has become a household word. Just what is meant by that term, the people at large have but a vague conception. The capitalist newspapers have made explanations that did not explain; the "labor" papers and the labor fakirs have added to the confusion; the annual banquet of the American Fakiration of Labor has been eaten, and we are as much in the dark as ever. Why?

Because the recital of the story of the Bull Pen and all that leads up to it, with the lessons that it teaches, would, if learned by the working class, cause them to throw the fakirs overboard, stop their scab labor sheets, abandon their capitalist papers, kick their capitalist politicians down and out, and march with the militants of the S. L. P. to the conquest of the public powers.

It follows, therefore, that it is left for the Socialist Labor Party to tell the tale of the Bull Pen in Idaho.

CHAPTER I.

Pre-Historical.—Before '92.

Idaho is one of the sage-brush States in the West that has grown up with the present generation. Like her sister States of Wyoming, Montana, Utah, etc., its chief resource is its mineral products. In '82 gold was discovered in that portion of Idaho known as the Cœur d'Alene county. From all over the West prospectors flocked, with hard tack in the satchels, hope in their hearts and a Fifth avenue palace in their minds.

The prospectors speedily found that the mines were not easily worked; large capital was needed to develop them. The money came, and for a time all went well. $3.50 a day was the wage. As has happened from Pennsylvania to the Slope, the fine art of skinning Labor, through pluck-me-stores and other devices all came after other things were well settled. So, in '85 the Company started a Company boarding house, then a Company store, finally a Company bunk house—all about as comfortable as the boudoirs in the steerage of a tramp steamer.

In June, '87, the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Company, the property of the Standard Oil Co., sought to reduce the miners' wages from $3.50 to $3.00, and the other underground men from $3.50 to $2.50, but failed to reduce their board, which remained at $1.00 per day.

When the miners refused to accept this reduction, the Company was forced, on account of the then scarcity of miners, to return to the old schedule of $3.50, but refused to pay other underground men more than $3.00, which was a cut of 50 cents per day for these men.

Here we see the irrepressible conflict between Capital and Labor, each striving to get the most of the product that Labor produced. At this early stage of the Idaho mining development, we see four distinct reductions of the men's wages:

1st—The Company store;
2d—The Company boarding house;
3d—The Company bunk house, with its rents;
4th—The fifty-cent reduction in July, '87.

Under the lash of these repeated reductions, on November 17th, 1887, the first union of miners in the Cœur d'Alenes was organized and was called Wardner Miners' Union.

In 1890, the men employed by the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining Company demanded the prevailing wages paid in the district, $3.50 per day, for all underground men, which was refused, and a strike ensued. It lasted two weeks, and ended in the defeat of the Company, it agreeing to pay the same wages as the other mines in the district.

This defeat enraged the President of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine, Mr. John Hays Hammond.

And who may this Mr. John Hays Hammond be? The answer will incidentally throw not a little light upon the internationality of Capitalism, and help to explain the recent disgraceful scenes of love and affection displayed at the banquet of the "Sons of the American Revolution" for the whipped Britishers in South Africa. This Hammond is the gentleman who afterwards went to Africa, and, together with the protegé of Cecil Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain, the filibuster, Dr. Jameson, conspired a midnight raid upon the Boer Republic. Just as he smuggled rifles into Idaho in '92, so in '97, he showed his training by smuggling rifles in carloads of coke into the Transvaal. Oom Paul, however, pulled him up short, and ran the scoundrel out of the Transvaal.

This international hireling of Capital at once organized a Mine Owners' Industrial Protective Association for the sole purpose of reducing miners' wages in the West to $2.50. This for a starter. Later reductions to follow until that glorious day would dawn on Shoshone County when the miners would be as hungry and as helpless as in Pennsylvania.

The Mine Owners' Protective Association had a grand work before it. Only the "foolish" miners, with wives and children to support could not see it that way.

The first move of Hammond's Association was to raise the sinews of war. This was done by assessing every member of the Association 12 per cent. on every ton of ore shipped from their mines. The collections went into a sinking fund for the purpose of buying guns, hiring toughs and raising hell generally. The poor devils who moiled and toiled in the mines at the risk of life, health and limb, should have the last ounce of surplus value squeezed out of them by peaceful means; if not, the Association would buy enough toughs to shoot it out of them.

Right here, mark this down: Up to this time, January 1, '92, not a blow was struck, not a shot was fired, naught save a whispered curse in an outraged worker's throat; while all the preparations for war were going on from the other, the "Law and Order Abiding" side.

CHAPTER II.

The Big Fight of '92.

The polished plugugly, who presided over the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine felt that all his plans were safe for the starting of his conspiracy. So with all his wires laid, the Courts "fixed," guns purchased and Pinkertons ready, he issued the order to shut down every mine in the county on January 17th, '92. Thousands of men were thrown out of employment in midwinter; credit in the Company stores was forthwith denied them; and eviction threatened.

On April 1st, the Mine Owners' Protective Association offered to resume operations at a reduction of $1.00 per day for miners and 50 cents for all other men. That was the first part of the scheme. The men, starved out during three months; their funds exhausted, and their credit along with that, were expected to be found pliant; if not, there were the Courts, guns, etc., ready for them. The prospective participator in the future Jameson raid miscalculated on the first point; but he was absolutely certain on the second.

The miners refused to accept the proffered reduction, and Wm. Hammond ordered his Courts, his State and Federal Rep-Dem. Capitalist officials, to the front.

Without a particle of disturbance of any description, the Mine Owners' Association applied for an injunction against the Miners' Union; this was granted by Judge Beatty, of the Federal Court, with a break-neck quickness. Right upon that, the Mine Owners' Association applied to the Governor to declare martial law in that peaceable territory; and he, like Judge Beatty, a ready and complacent tool of the Company, did so forthwith.

Having taken its Judge out of its right-hand pocket, and pulled its Governor out of its left-hand pocket, Hammond's Mine Owners' Association was ready to unleash the Dogs of War. And it did so; 500 rifles were bought and distributed at the different mines, to be used by the toughs that were to be brought in from the large cities to create riot in the name of "Law and Order," and thus furnish justification for the Capitalist brutality in contemplation.

So far all was peaceable at the mines. Not one of the villainous gang, who plotted the scheme with their assistant Judges, Governors, etc., has ever dared to declare otherwise. Yet the first act of their imported toughs was to attempt to drive the miners out of the county. So they started to raid the town of Gem on July 11.

At this point the miners felt that things had just gone far enough. The right of self-defence was now enforced upon them. They acted as their class always acts in such cases: slow to action but chain-lightning-fire-and-brimstone when they start. To be locked out and threatened with starvation for no crime was bad enough; but they could stand it. But when a gang of bums, loafers and drunks, the scourings of the cities, came into Shoshone County to drive them and their wives and families out as a drover would drive his hogs, this was more than flesh and blood could stand. So they picked up their shotguns, Winchesters and all, and sallied forth at daybreak to meet the foe, although outnumbered 2 to 1. They met them. Oh, yes, they did. And they did not do a thing to them. They shot them; they clubbed them; they took their guns off them; they threw 'em down and danced on them—the toughs, not the guns—until there was not a bum plugugly in Hammond's brigade but wished he had never deserted his dive to monkey with these "wild Western miners." The miners disarmed over 500 of them, marched them out of town, buried their dead, succored their wounded, and told them that if they ever dared to return, they would find a neat little hole in the hillside for their hide. Just then the Federal troops arrived, 1,600 strong, under General Curtin. They arrested every miner in sight, whereupon the "bold" toughs re-appeared, burned the miners' union hall to the ground, insulted the miners' wives, beat their children and raised hell generally, like the bold, bad men that they were, now that the defenders of these women and children were hemmed in by a wall of steel.

Some of the Union men were "tried for riot," were found guilty, appealed to the United States Supreme Court, and were discharged. THE SUPREME COURT OF THE U. S. HOLDING THAT THE MEN WERE ABSOLUTELY BLAMELESS FOR THE OCCURRENCE OF JULY 11, '92.

On that July morning when the miners were fighting for their stinted liberties and miserable homes, three of their brave comrades were killed by the imported toughs. Their memory is kept green in Shoshone County. On the 11th day of July in each recurring year since '92, every mine in the County shuts down. The whole population turns out to the little cemetery on the hillside. While speeches are made and prayers said, their graves are decorated by the children and washed by the tears of the women they had died for. There will be more graves to be decked this year—Mike Devine, Mat Johnson and others are there now. Bigger than ever will be the celebration this year, held as it will be under the Shadow of the Bull Pen. And these celebrations will continue until they will be merged in that grand celebration that will commemorate the final downfall of the class that Hammond represented.

At that very time when the U. S. Courts were acquitting the miners, the Associated Press was sending out red-eyed tales about the "murderers of Shoshone County," "Dynamiters," "Scoundrelly Ruffians," etc.

They lied, they knew it; but the rascality of the Mine Owners' Protective Association had to be hidden in this cloud of dust, and yet again there was another gain to be made by this uproar: This Cœur d'Alene County was undeveloped in the main; the cream of the wealth hidden in these hills had only been skimmed; new leads and mines were being continually discovered; the district was a new El Dorado; the Capitalist clique in control desired no more outside capital to come in; Capital was always timid they knew. Now, if they could cause Eastern investors to believe that this territory was overrun by howlers, dynamiters, murderers, etc., the capital would not come in, and all the wealth of the Cœur d'Alenes would, from time to time, come under their control. Hence their desire for trouble:

First, to cut the men's wages to starving point.

Secondly, to scare outside investors away.

In the latter they succeeded admirably. The determined fight of the men caused them to fail in the former. Every mine in the district consented to pay the Union scale except the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Company. The men returned to work, happy over their successful fight; they were determined to make another of the same kind when necessary; so they oiled up their Winchesters while the Angel of Peace was folding its wings.

CHAPTER III.

Politics in Idaho.

The Union miners of Idaho at no time knew any more about politics than the law allowed.

In a dim way, they realized that political power was at the bottom of the whole situation. They wanted to capture that power, but just what to do with it they were not clear. To use that power as a class-conscious, therefore, revolutionary political party of workingmen would use it, did not occur to them. To use that power as an adjunct to the union in Shoshone County "to get something now" was all they could see. "A bird in the hand was worth two in the bush," they thought; and it must be said they had better reasons for this position than is usually the case; because the political power in the county was in their hands, but in the State of Idaho the Mormon farmers, who had come across the State line from Utah, held the balance of power, and, as middle class farmers, they had nothing in common with the miners. Hence the miners looked after the county offices alone, leaving the political Sword of Damocles in the State suspended over their heads.

We may easily imagine what followed. The miners had the county officers, sheriff, tax commissioners, etc.; the Capitalists had the State officers. The row between the Union and the Capitalists breaks out; then the State steps in, erects the Bull Pen, arrests the sheriff and tax commissioners, arrests

(Continued on Page Two.)

FINANCIAL.

Stock Exchanges and the Social Revolution.

Preliminary Battlefields.

Light Thrown Upon the Recent New York Panic Which Connects McKinley's Anti-Trust Fulmination, Gage's Rush to the Rescue, and Roosevelt's Signing of the Astoria Grab.

The attention of the world is centered upon the war in Africa, little realizing that the sceptre has passed from the field of physical war to the field of commerce, or in other words, that the great wars of to-day are fought, not only upon the battle-field, but in the markets and exchanges.

The proposition laid down by Socialist thinkers that, under capitalism, if it lasts long enough, all industries will come to be controlled by one man or one clique of men, has been exemplified by the warfare that has occurred upon the floor of the New York Stock Exchange lately.

Here we have witnessed a contest that was as disastrous and as far-reaching in its effects as any struggle fought upon the field of battle, the aftermath being a depreciation in the prices of securities reaching the magnitude of some $200,000,000.

This means the sweeping of the stealings of many small capitalists into the pockets of the larger ones, with the result of more wealth concentration, the control of industries in fewer hands, and the further result of lower wages for the working classes.

The fear of "confiscation" by the Socialists, that nightmare of capitalists, is but a shadow compared to the reality of this confiscation that has just taken place under "Law and Order" on the floor of the Exchange.

To-day, when the big fellows find the little fellows an obstruction, orders are given, the guns are trained, and the battle (known to the public as a panic) takes place.

The factors in this struggle throw much light upon another Socialist truth, that the material interests of each class in society compel them to use the powers of government for their protection.

We find in this instance the great capitalists, the Rockefellers, in a contest with other great capitalists,—the Whitney, Brady outfit. One side represented by the Republican machine, the other by the Croker Democratic gang.

The Rockefellers have some $50,000,000 of surplus values accumulated in their hands every year, which, under the law of Capitalism, MUST be invested.

They have become the industrial kings of the nation, controlling Oil, Lead, Steel, Leather, etc.; there are new industries to conquer; so, in the interest of Standard Oil, they are after the gas plants of the large cities of the United States.

Standing in their way were the interests formerly led by the late Roswell P. Flower, one time Democratic Governor of this State, those interests being now led by Brady, Whitney, Croker Democrats, with the power of the municipal government behind them. But the Federal government is more powerful.

To defeat the Democratic capitalists and secure the prize, something must be done, a panic must be created in the midst of so-called prosperity.

McKinley gets off something against "Trusts" in his annual message. This was the beginning. The British reverse in South Africa gives the opportunity. The floor of the Exchange is the battlefield. The war begins. Securities, held by the "Brady" crowd fall in price swiftly. The powers let loose by the Rockefeller crowd do their work too well; it looks as if they too will be engulfed in their snares. What happens? A Gage capitalist lackey comes to the rescue. The United States Treasury is at the command of the Rockefellers. Their plans succeed. A "national calamity" just "averted"; the last act in the drama is the signing of the "Astoria grab" by Roosevelt, giving the Standard Oil crowd what they were after. Thus do politics help the capitalists.

The Stock Exchange, with its ramifications, the Exchange and money markets, are destined to be a leading battle ground upon which important economic battles of the future will be fought. There will the little capitalist, forced out of the channels of trade, by the concentration of industry, play his last card, commit suicide, or become a proletarian.

Here will one of the last dramas of capitalism be enacted, the Waterloo of the bourgeoisie.

To the proletarian, the victories and defeats of these contending forces (who struggle to command a position where they can become the sole confiscators of the surplus values the working class create), are the same as to the privates on the battlefield; they mean no benefit to him.

Only when he realizes that to support politically either of these forces is suicidal, and determines to put his own class in power, will he be wise.

Until then the battles on the Stock Exchange will, unconsciously, make for the Social Revolution; for they will be a factor in creating those social contrasts, which, becoming apparent and intolerable to all, will lead to the overthrow of all it stands for—Capitalism rampant.

A. F. BROWN.

THE STORY OF THE BULL PEN.

(Continued from Page 1.)

all the Union men,—and commands the situation in the interest of the Capitalist class. God is always on the side of the strongest battalions. The State was stronger than the County, hence the State, or, rather, the Capitalists, won, and the Union Miners learned this bitter lesson, that the bird in the hand was not in the hand at all, but on the contrary was in the Bull Pen; that the only way the bird can be securely in the hand is by capturing, not Shoshone County, but the State, and finally the nation.

CHAPTER IV.

The Battle of April 29, '99.—How the Concentrator Was Blown Up.

After the battle of '92 was over, and the men had won, the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining Co. found out that they had troubles of their own. For a long time its mines remained closed. Its president, Mr. Hammond, had to seek fresh fields and pastures new, which accounts for his appearance before that wicked old man, Oom Paul, who spanked him even worse than did the miners.

The prosperity of the town of Wardner depended on the B. H. & S. mine. The cockroach business-men were at their wit's end. The red rag of the auctioneer never left their minds, even in the dead watches of the night. They finally orgnized a Militia Company; the mine owners having made such a disastrous experience with imported bullies, these cockroach business-men thought they would try home talent. The B. H. & S. mine was thereupon opened, and the business-men commenced to sing. Non-union men were running it under reduced wages;—miners at $3.00; muckers, as the other men in the mine are called, at $2.50.

From time to time these Wardner non-union men visited the other towns in Shoshone Co., Gem, Burke, Wallace and Mullan. They were disgusted to find these union men making $1.00 per day more than themselves, so they determined to do a little organizing on their own account—in the spring of '99.

One Burbidge, the manager of the B. H. & S. Co., and worthy successor of Hammond, determined to upset the men's plans. Again, as in '92, the Standard Oil manager imported toughs; armed them; and, anxious to avoid the union men's brand of trouble in the country, he proceeded to run things in Wardner with a high hand, believing that later on the county would be his. His reason for believing this was simple. He was to turn to his advantage, against the prospective Union that was looming up from amidst his non-union workers, the sentiment of the other mine owners against their union-men. Maddened by the success of the Union, and desiring, as much as he, to discourage capital as before, all the other mine owners in the Cœur d'Alenes were determined to make a last great effort to smash the Union as he had done; an effort that—they had seen to—was to be backed up by Judges, Governors, and military, as before, only in a slightly different way.

These mine owners' scheme was as follows: The Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine had a Concentrator (an immense machine for extracting the ore), very much out of date, despite continuous tinkering. This Concentrator was insured for four times its value. Into the Union some tools of the mine owners were to be introduced. They would advocate the dynamiting of the Concentrator. This being done, then more Federal troops, injunctions, etc., with their wished-for accompaniments, to wit, a smashed union, lower wages, and capital scared away. It was certainly a pretty scheme, but not new to these gentlemen, by any means. The Standard Oil officials have already been convicted in the courts of the State of New York of blowing up opposition refineries; arson has been traced to their door; so a little thing like a Concentrator was easy for Burbidge, the representative of the Standard Oil interests in Idaho, to fall in with.

Side by side with the developing of this plot went the discontent of the non-union men in Burbidge's own Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine. It culminated on April 24, '99, in a demand made upon Burbidge for the payment of the prevailing wages in the district. This, Burbidge refused; he then discharged every man who indulged in this "un-American" act of asking for an increase; and started to import scabs to take the men's places, and more imported toughs to help the game along.

These "armed guards," as they were termed, were placed around the B. H. & S. Mine, although there was no danger of any description, but it was part of the plot to make it appear that there was. Then the "armed guards" took possession of the country road, and, without provocation, halted people who were attending to their business. This usurpation of authority by private individuals continued until Sheriff Young stepped in; yanked these toughs off the public road; and notified the Bunker Hill manager that this thing had to stop.

On April 29, the discharged miners of Wardner—not members of the Miners' Union—decided to have a demonstration,—very natural under the circumstances seeing they were at loggerheads with Burbidge, the manager of B. H. & S. mine. The demonstration differed in no way from thousands of similar ones, that we see held all over the country. But Mr. Burbidge concluded that he did not want any demonstration. So he ordered his "armed guards" to stop it. To this high-handed proceeding the non-union men objected. Then ensued the liveliest kind of time. As soon as a meeting would start, the "armed guards" would proceed to break it up, absolutely without right—legal, moral, or otherwise. Thereupon would follow a Donnybrook fair, Kilkenny cat-kind of time. Twenty different kinds of fighting would go on at once. Up and down the country road with sticks, clubs, fists, stones and guns they fought. They fought in the style of five different nations, while they cursed in seven tongues. The non-union men belted the guards as bad as we belted the Kangs; only, unlike the Kangs, the guards held their ground. Nothing was barred, from a strangle-hold to a punch below the mark, while the ground and lofty tumbling was a solace to the eye.

Wardner is surrounded by a number of other towns, all controlled by the union men. But few were at work that day. The largest mine in Shoshone County—the Standard, employing 450 men—was closed on the previous day, ostensibly for repairs, but really as a move in the plot already outlined. When the union men learned of the non-union men's fight in Wardner, some of them determined to go down and take part in the row, on general principles, it really not being their fight at all. At this moment a freight train, with a mail-coach attached, was leaving Burke, for Wallace. Some of the men clambered aboard. The people being wildly excited, a stampede ensued; women, with babes in their arms, girls, and even small children, climbed on. The populace was turning out to see the fight.

After leaving Burke, a most remarkable incident occurred, one that shows as clear as a crystal the final working of the plot to blow up the Concentrator.

When the train reached Gem it stopped. A dozen men jumped out and walked a few yards to the magazine of the Helena and Frisco mine. The manager—Joe MacDonald—was there. This MacDonald is a bull-necked, fighting Irishman. He has the reputation of being a bad man to have trouble with, and is known as one of the best, if not the best rough-and-tumble and gun fighter that ever crossed the trail in Idaho. With him his property comes first, even at the risk of his life. Yet when he saw these men go to his magazine and take his dynamite, he offered not the slightest objection, but, on the contrary, he smiled with pleasure and said: "Go ahead, boys! I wish you luck. These people (meaning the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining Co.) ought to be made an example of. I hope you do so." When the inquest took place a couple of weeks later on the bodies of the two men killed on April 29, he testified before the Coroner's Jury against the non-union men, denounced them in unmeasured terms and swore the dynamite was taken without his knowledge or consent; thus clearly showing that he was in league both with the tools of the mine owners, who were on the train, and with the Standard Oil manager Burbidge.

With the dozen boxes of dynamite on board, a fresh start was made, and in a few minutes the train pulled into Wardner Station.

To put the dynamite under the Concentrator was the work of a moment, the fuse was applied, then—bang! The Standard Oil Co. had duplicated the performance for which they had been convicted in the courts of the State of New York. It would be interesting to have Mr. Rockefeller's views as to which is the easier; blowing up Concentrators or refineries.

After the explosion, there was no further disturbance. Every one who participated in the blowing up left the State. The men who came down on the train without expecting any such ending went back in a rush. Two lives had gone out earlier in the day during the riotings already described. A deadly quiet settled over Wardner. The Angel of Peace again folded her wings, slightly ruffled, it is true, in the midst of the Concentrator's ruins.

CHAPTER V.

The Bull Pen.

We guide our footsteps in the present by the light of experience we have made in the past.

The band of capitalist criminals in Idaho had made plenty of experience. With Hammond whipped in '92, despite his Governors, Courts and military power; with their pals convicted in New York for blowing up a rival refinery—these gentlemen took care that no mistake was made this time. So they worked their plans exceedingly well, and were repaid as follows:

1st—They had a played-out Concentrator blown up, and collected enough insurance to get a new one.

2d—They sent poor, timid capital flying.

3d—They smashed all the workers' opposition, both non-union and union.

4th—They disfranchised hundreds of miners and made it possible to swing Shoshone County in the clean-cut capitalist-political camp again—this being of the utmost importance as two Sections of the Socialist Labor Party had just been organized in Burke and Mullan, and well the mine owners' fraternity in crime knew that the Socialist Labor Party alone was the labor organization able to spread out beyond Shoshone County and reach the other people in the State to a purpose.

The blowing up of the Concentrator made all this possible. Their free silver Governor commenced to move at once. Without consulting the Sheriff, as is always done in such cases, the Bryanistic Governor Steunenberg applied to the McKinleyistic President for troops, and got them. The county was put under martial law, and thus "Sound Money" and "Bogus Money" Capitalism that had sworn eternal enmity, shook hands over the mangled body of Labor.

General Merriam was dispatched post-haste from Colorado with "Veterans of the Cuban War." From Spokane, Wash., two companies of colored troops were sent to Shoshone County.

In the mean time the precious Steunenberg appointed State Auditor Sinclair as his representative. A splendid selection, indeed! It would be hard to find a better representative of crookdom than this crook. This is a small pen picture of that worthy: He has always been a shyster lawyer of the shysterishest type. He was at one time a "gold standard Republican labor protector"; when the free silver, "labor-loving," "no government by injunction" wave came along, he became a "free silver friend of labor." He was at one time Land Commissioner. Judge Beatty, mentioned earlier in this narrative as the complacent judicial supplement of the future African "explorer," removed him from the position under charges of embezzlement. This being the second charge against him, it looked as if he was booked for the Penitentiary, but his friends came to his assistance, and saved him. Finally he was elected on the "Fusion" ticket for State Auditor on the principle, probably, that embezzlers make good capitalist and labor fakir auditors as a rule. This is the fellow who conceived the idea of the Bull Pen.

On May 4, 1899, in the forenoon, the Bull Pen was ready for the Shoshone Proletariat. It consisted of a few sheds, that might have been transplanted from the Chicago stock yards with yellow fever paint on the boards; on the floor there was straw for bedding—like the cradle of the Nazarene, but the Proletariat had the cross before the cradle. Of toilet accommodations there were none. Ditto culinary arrangements. Just a pen for cattle; that was all.

On May 4, having corralled the non-union innocents in Wardner, Major Smith, with the Sixth Colored Cavalry, made a sortie on Burke. They surrounded the town. As the men came out of the mine in their wet overalls, they were held up and told they were under arrest. For six hours they were kept standing, waiting for the train to take them to Wardner to the Bull Pen. The business men were also arrested. In fact, everything in the town that wore pants had to come along. They were taken in box cars and cattle cars to the Pen. The business men were released. The women asked permission to give their husbands dry clothes and supper; they were refused. At 1 P. M. next day they got their first meal after a 25-hours' fast. Black coffee and "mulligan" was on the bill of fare (mulligan is a mysterious beef stew).

On May 5 the men in Mullan were arrested. May 6 Gem got in line: the business men were released, but 1,200 miners had to stay to be starved, ill treated and made a jibe of by the colored troops of Spokane.

Company M, Twenty-fourth Regiment, Colored Cavalry, Captain Bachellor, commanding, was now placed in charge. The women, knowing how their husbands and brothers were being treated, cooked two dozen hams and brought them down to the men. Bachellor took the hams, confiscated them for his troopers, who walked around leering at the poor, hungry devils, while they eat the hams that the men's wives had prepared for them. Next the men's wives sent a dozen boxes of cigars; again they were confiscated, while the miners were asked by their tormentors what they thought of their smell.

With the cold, wet clothes, bad food, and general ill treatment, sickness broke out amongst the men. They suffered awful agony from piles, dysentery, and kindred diseases, lying on the floor like sheep. Without toilet accommodations of any sort, the most revolting incidents occurred that decency compels me to omit. The Black Hole in Calcutta was a bridal bower compared to it.

As an instance of the savage way in which the men were treated I shall take the case of Mike Devine. Devine was always a staunch union man. He was the life and soul of the union and one of the charter members of Section Burke, Idaho, Socialist Labor Party. An honest, hard-working, jolly, fighting Irishman; as brave as a lion, as strong as an ox, and as guileless as a child. As a result of having to stay so long in his wet clothes, he got pneumonia. He asked to see his wife and child; both requests were denied him. The little delicacies that a sick man craves were turned back from the door of this pest house. Loving hands were stretched out to him, only to be driven away by the colored scoundrel in charge.

Finally, always being a fervent Roman Catholic, when he realized he was dying, he asked for a priest—a request that never is refused a prisoner in a civilized nation; but it was denied in the Bull Pen. This maddened the dying man. With the glaze of death in his eyes, and the death rattle in his throat, he raised himself on one elbow, gave one last loving look at his fellow prisoners and shouted: "Boys, — — — these murderers! Stand by the union! Don't sign the permit!" Then he fell over, dead.

Below is an exact copy of the "Proclamation," issued by the Governor jointly with General Merriam, and containing the matchlessly infamous "Permit," or "Application for Permit," against which Mike Devine uttered his last class-conscious breath:

Proclamation.

WHEREAS, The following notice has been served upon the mine owners of Shoshone County by the duly constituted State authorities, by whom martial law has been declared, to wit:

"TO THE MINE-OWNERS OF SHOSHONE COUNTY:

"CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONS OR COMBINATIONS EXISTING IN SHOSHONE COUNTY HAVE SHOWN THEMSELVES TO BE CRIMINAL IN PURPOSE INCITING AND, AS ORGANIZATIONS, PROCURING PROPERTY TO BE DESTROYED, AND MURDERS TO BE COMMITTED, BY REASON WHEREOF IT HAS BEEN TWICE NECESSARY TO DECLARE MARTIAL LAW IN SHOSHONE COUNTY;

"YOU ARE THEREFORE NOTIFIED THAT THE EMPLOYMENT OF MEN BELONGING TO SAID OR OTHER CRIMINAL ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE CONTINUANCE OF MARTIAL LAW MUST CEASE. IN CASE THIS DIRECTION IS NOT OBSERVED, YOUR MINES WILL BE CLOSED."

Therefore, In order to carry into effect the spirit of the foregoing notice and restore the industries of the district as far as possible, it becomes necessary to establish a system by which miners who have not participated in the recent acts of violence and who are law-abiding people, may obtain work, that order and peace may be established, the following is promulgated for the guidance of all mine owners and employees in the affected district:

All parties applying for underground work in any of the following mines will be required to obtain from Dr. Hugh France, the duly appointed and authorized agent for the State of Idaho for this purpose, or his deputy, at Wardner or at Wallace, a permit authorizing said person to seek employment in any of the following mines: Bunker Hill & Sullivan, Last Chance, Empire State-Idaho, Consolidated Tiger and Poorman, Hecla, Mammoth, Standard, Helena-Frisco, Gem, Morning, Hunter and such others as may be hereafter included in the above list. Parties applying for such permits must be prepared: First, to deny all participation in the riots of April 29, 1899, in Shoshone County, and, Second, to deny or renounce membership in any society which has incited, encouraged or approved of said riots or other violation of public law.

Mine owners must refuse employment to all applicants for underground work who do not present a duly signed permit authorizing the same. Such permits will be deposited in Mine Owners' Office subject to periodical inspection.

All parties now under employment by any of the mines above named will be required to procure within ten days from this date the permits above referred to as a condition to their remaining in the service of their respective companies.

By order of the Governor and Commander in Chief,
Bartlett Sinclair, State Auditor.
Examined and approved:
H. C. Merriam,
Brig. Gen. U. S. Army.
Dated, May 8th, 1899.

The application for permits to seek employment which union men must sign is as follows:

Application for leave to seek employment in the mines of Shoshone County.

To Dr. Hugh France, State representative:

Sir—I hereby make application for issuance to me of a permit allowing me to seek employment in the mines of Shoshone County.

I am a..................by occupation.

I am a native of..................and am a ....citizen of the United States.

I last worked at the..................mine, in..................................

My shift boss was ....

Heretofore I have been a member of........ ....Miners' Union.

I did not participate, actively or otherwise, in the riots which took place at Wardner on the 29th of April, 1899. Believing that the crimes committed at Wardner on said date were actively incited, encouraged and perpetrated through and by means of the influence and direction of the miners' unions of the Cœur d'Alenes, I hereby express my unqualified disapproval of said acts, and hereby renounce and forever abjure all allegiance to the said miners' union, of which I was a former member, and I solemnly pledge myself to obey the law and to not again seek membership in any society which will encourage or tolerate any violation of law.

Dated this............day of.............1899.

The application which non-union men must sign is as follows.

Application for leave to seek employment in the mines of Shoshone County.

To Dr. Hugh France, State Representative:

Sir—I hereby make application for issuance to me of a permit, allowing me to seek employment in the mines of Shoshone County.

I am a......................by occupation.

I am a native of......................and am a................citizen of the United States.

I last worked at the..................mine, in..........................

My shift boss was..........................

I have not been for....................years a member of any miners' union.

I took no part, either actively or passively, in aiding, assisting or encouraging the perpetration of the crimes committed at Wardner on the 29th of April, 1899.

I solemnly pledge myself to obey the law.

Dated this............day of..........1899.

It was around this incident that Comrade Stanislaus Cullen wrote the beautiful poem at the head of this story.

But Devine was not the only man murdered there. Amongst those arrested was a miner named Mat Johnson, an innocent Swede, a typical "Yon Yonsen," as gentle, simple and innocent in his make-up as any man that ever lived. Knowing of his guilelessness, the military authorities thought to scare him into telling tales on the union. They told him they would hang him if he did not tell all he knew. He protested in broken English that he knew nothing. They made more threats, that so terrified Johnson that he became insane. While he was being taken from the Pen to the Asylum, he feared they were taking him to hang him, whereupon he jumped into the river. Dr. Hugh France, the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine doctor, who had been appointed Sheriff in place of Sheriff Young, who was also thrown into the Bull Pen for "not stopping a riot" that he knew nothing about, ordered the soldiers to shoot. Poor Johnson was pulled from the river with three bullets in his brain, a corpse—another of the murdered ones, whose souls, like John Brown's, goes marching on, while their bodies lie mouldering in the ground, awaiting the Appomattox of this generation.

The degree of civilization a man, a class or a nation has arrived at can be tested by their treatment of woman. Apply this test to the ruling class in Idaho, and they stand forth as savages. Every code of honor imaginable was smashed to pieces by the brutes. With their defenders under lock and key, the women were abused.

Sinclair was approached by a Mrs. Goldenstein, who went to intercede for her sick husband. This gentlemanly State Auditor said: "Get out of here. I have put up a Bull Pen for the men; I'll put up a Cow Pen for you women."

Dan Kildeas' wife, with a baby in her arms, was thrown out of the Bull Pen on her head for asking to see her husband.

The colored troops took pleasure in telling the prisoners that they would look after the women in their husband's absence, and explained their meaning to the already distracted prisoners by obscene gestures.

Night after night the women were insulted, both by officers and men until they feared to leave their homes after sunset. More than one woman saved her honor with a gun, for these Western working women are as brave as they are pure. One of the most hopeful signs in the Far West for the development of a revolutionary movement is the magnificent spirit displayed by the sex. When their men were locked up, they did not sit around and cry, but went to work to help them in the fight. To speak with these women is a revelation. Earnest, courageous and faithful, they are fit mates for the men who, outnumbered two by one, whipped Hammonds toughs in 1892. Large in size, as in courage, they impress the Eastern observer, as he notes the flash in their eye that might have been caught from the sheen of our flag. Their day is coming; they know it; they will speed it all they can.

It must not be imagined that the miners were the only occupants of the Bull Pen. There were others. Any man, regardless of his station, who would express sympathy for the miners, even in a side-walk conversation, was instantly locked up.

Sheriff Young, the legally elected Sheriff of the county, was thrown in on the flimsiest pretext, because the mine owners could not use him for their own ends.

Ex-Sheriff Heney was arrested because he was collecting evidence for some of the men in the Pen.

W. H. Stewart, editor of the Mullan "Mirror," took the strikers' side; he was fired in, too. But of him more anon.

Two of the regularly elected Tax Commissioners were pitched in for a similar "offence." The Concentrator at the B. H. & S. mine was insured for $200,000. The Tax Commissioners assessed it for $250,000. Burbidge went before the Board of Equalizers and swore it was only worth $52,000. Unwillingness to be used was proof of crime; so into the Bull Pen the Tax Commissioners were rushed when martial law was declared.

I can now take up one of the most remarkable incidents of the Bull Pen. The men, unaware of when they would be tried, were near crazed by their confinement. Accustomed, as they were, to the freedom of a prospector's life, when they could roam in gay abandon through the hills, ravines, valleys, and gulches of Idaho, this confinement was the most awful punishment that could be devised. This caused them to make an attempt to get out at all hazards. Many schemes were suggested. Eight men did succeed by bribing the guards and getting away. So close was the watch after this that other methods had to be adopted. So the men hit upon the scheme of tunnelling their way out. This was feasible for two reasons. As miners they were accustomed to such work; then, also, they were alone in the Pen all day.

By putting boards over the tunnel which started under one of the bunks, they could work with comparative security. With a butchers knife and a 24-inch pinch bar they sank a shaft six feet deep, 4½ to 3½ feet in width, with 30 inches for the tunnel. Their other tools were a vegetable box, some gunny sacks and a wooden shovel.

The picket fence, beyond which lay liberty, was 90 feet away, hence they figured that if they could go some 90 feet in the tunnel all would be well. For three days they worked like Trojans, and drove the tunnel 75 feet. Work was now no longer possible without some air. The man in the tunnel at this juncture poked a small wire up to the surface for this purpose. A soldier who happened to be looking in the sun noticed it. He at once gave the alarm. In rushed the officers with Sinclair, and the tunnel scheme, that promised so well, was dead. A second attempt was also nearing success, when some one informed, and again the prisoners were foiled.

As a punishment for this conduct the prisoners were lined up in the burning sun the following day, and made to stand still for eight hours under pain of instant death if they moved. This treatment was meted out to the men for eight successive days and would have continued, were it not that many men commenced to give evidence of insanity under the strain. During their punishment, Captain Edwards, the mercenary in charge of the Bull Pen, marched up and down the lines of the defenceless prisoners reviling them, calling them names, cusswords, etc., although he knew well in his black heart that, in a fair fight, not a man Jack present but would have demolished his military job-lots in a jiffy.

It would but unnecessarily shock the readers of The People to continue this side of the story longer. Many columns more could be filled, and then the tale would be but half told. But the spirit revolts at the recital of the crimes committed by these upholders of capitalistic "Law and Order." The Bull Pen is a black spot in American history.

It can only be wiped out with the wiping out of the class that built it.

Speed the day.

CHAPTER VI.

Honesty and Thievery.

The "Spokesman Review," in Spokane, Wash., the organ of the mine owning criminals, has been continually harping on the dishonesty, immorality and general crookedness of the Union men. Fouler lies were never written. It is an attempt to cry wolf, an attempt to hide the rascality of their own followers. Surely a more thieving set never stretched hemp than the deputies of the mine owners, worthy servants of their masters.

I have already told how the officers confiscated the hams and cigars supplied by the miners' wives, but that was not all. The tobacco in the men's possession was taken from them and never returned. The same with the prisoners' razors and knives. The troopers took everything that was not nailed down. But they were discounted by the deputies on the outside.

After the wholesale arrests, these worthies went around to the companies' boarding houses, bunk houses and hotels, and marched off with the valises, trunks, watches, libraries and clothes of the men. Not one of them was brought to account, although they robbed in broad daylight. They acted on the principle that if the master can rob on a large scale, the servant can rob on the small. On the other hand, prior to April 29th, every door in Shoshone County was on the latch. Keys were never in demand. The utmost confidence in the integrity and honesty of one another prevailed. Thievery of any sort was unknown, as the court records show. Dishonest, immoral miners! Well, I guess the boot is on the wrong foot!

CHAPTER VII.

The Legal Side.

The men who were continually shouting "Law and Order" seemed, as the record shows, not to know what these terms meant. They broke more laws than their toughs broke heads.

When martial law was declared, the Sheriff, as pointed out before, was not consulted. Without any cause shown, he was thrown in the Bull Pen. The Tax Commissioners of Shoshone County followed. But worse than either of these cases was the case of W. H. Stewart, Editor of the Mullan "Mirror."

The "Mirror" was a small weekly. When the Bull Pen was built, the Editor took the Union men's side. Merriam ordered the Editor into the Pen. Mrs. Stewart, knowing that the paper was the only means of support for herself and three young children, tried to get it out. One issue appeared. Thereupon a company of cavalry invaded the place, confiscated 18 cases of type, and all the advertisements, leaving the unfortunate woman destitute.

Amendment 1 of the Constitution prohibits Congress from abridging freedom of speech or of the press. What Congress is prohibited from doing, Merriam does. But to paraphrase that wonderful statesman, Tim Campbell: "What's a little thing like the Constitution amongst Standard Oil friends!"

Having smashed the law,

1st—By the arrest of the Sheriff;

2d—By the arrest of the Tax Commissioners;

3d—By the arrest of Editor Stewart;

4th—By confiscation of property of Stewart;

5th—They ordered the men in the Bull Pen to work at the point of the bayonet—like a chain-gang—although these men were not tried as yet, and, their trial being wrongfully and unconstitutionally delayed, stood innocent in the eyes of the law, and hence should not be compelled to work against their will;

6th—They held men without indictment or hearing, and refused all bail;

7th—They smashed open the safe of the Burks Miners' Union, without warrant of law;

8th—They arrested men for preparing evidence for the defence of the miners;

9th—They arrested men for expressing sympathy for the miners in private conversations;

10th—Dr. France, who was appointed Sheriff by the Governor, is an employee of the Bunker Hill Co. He called a grand jury of 40 picked men; every one known to have any sympathy with the prisoners was excluded;

11th—This Sheriff was also coroner, thus illegally holding two offices;

12th—The coroner's inquest on the body of the Union man killed on the 29th of April was made a secret inquest. It was in fact turned into an inquisition for the purpose of securing evidence against the miners;

13th—Into these secret sessions of the Coroner's Jury, Judge Curtis H. Lindsay, Attorney for the Bunker Hill and Sullivan Company, was freely admitted as a prosecutor, while Senator Patrick H. Reddy, the Counsel for the men, was denied admission!!!

14th—Every man who applied to give testimony at this "inquest," and was known to be friendly towards the miners, was arrested and thrown into the Bull Pen;

15th—When the non-union miners were imported from Missouri, some of the miners asked them in a peaceable way to return home; they were then arrested for "agitating";

16th—The cooks at the mine were ordered to work or be arrested;

17th—The owners of the Hunter mine were not allowed to start up because their men did not have "permits";

18th—The pump men at the Tiger-Poorman mine, at Burke, attempted to quit work; Lieutenant Lyons and his soldiers forced them back to their places at the point of the bayonet, thus offering the strange anomaly of Union men, supposed to be prevented from working unless they secured "permits," being forced by the military arm to go to work without them;

19th—Dr. France, the employee of the B. H. & S. Company, having summoned the Coroner's Jury, then packed the Grand Jury, next proceeded to summon the trial jury.

20th—This France, owned body and soul by the Bunker Hill Company, was given the power to issue the "permits." If ever a document was illegal, this infamous one was; it manufactures evidence for the company by making the men declare, as a condition to get work, that the occurrences of the 29th was the work of the Union men. If ever there was a case of extortion and subornation of witnesses, this is one. But, furthermore, France's "permit" intimidates the men into giving up their membership in their union,—a procedure doubly illegal, inasmuch as there is a State law prohibiting any such proceedings.

21st—Finally, Paul Corcoran, Secretary of the Burke Miners' Union, is sentenced to 17 years imprisonment by Judge Stewart, who, for years, had the reputation of being an outspoken enemy of the working class. Corcoran was tried for shooting a man he never saw, and who died in another State. His jury was packed by the Standard Oil employee, France, and most of the evidence secured against Corcoran came from the "inquest" at which his counsel was not allowed to appear.

After reading this crushing array of facts, all showing the lawless character of the capitalist "Law and Order" brigade in Idaho, where is the workingman so blind and dull as not to be able to see the absolute correctness of the Socialist Labor Party's contention that all legislation is class legislation.

Where is that workingman who will deny the correctness of the S. L. P. policy when it says: Every man in the labor movement who votes a capitalist ticket, who endorses or speaks for a capitalist candidate, is an enemy of the working class?

Where is the workingman who will deny that all unions that stand for capitalistic politics are a snare and a delusion at best, and often but criminal arms of the criminal capitalist class?

And finally, who will deny that in the conquest of the political power alone lies the safety and salvation of our class?

CHAPTER VIII.

The Labor Fakir.

The lay man who reads this narrative must have said to himself before now, "What did the great organizations of Labor do when they found their brothers treated in this shameful fashion; their own existence threatened by the establishing of the "Permit" precedent, the erection of the Bull Pen and the smashing of the union by martial law?"

The answer is simple. They did nothing. They would not do anything if they could; they could not if they would? Why? Because every "pure and simple" union in the land is organized on the antiquated lines of fifty years ago, hence the rank and file, blinded by false principles, is misled by fakirs, who, growing like a fungus in the jungle of reaction, fatten on their ignorance and lead them to the capitalist shambles in the interest of the ruling class.

The touch-stone to apply to the "pure and simple" organization, so-called union, to discover its utter worthlessness is a conflict of just this sort. It was so in the A. R. U. strike of '94; again in the great coal miners' strike of '97; and yet again in Idaho in '99.

The political and the economic powers of capital are inseparable and are not separated; for that reason the economic and the political powers of the workers must not be separated or disaster follows as daylight follows the dawn, and the pure and poor and simpler stands before the thinking workers of the nation a thing to be pitied.

Booth never presented a more tragic picture, nor did Grimaldi ever cut up punier capers than the pure and poor and simple fakir leader when the shadow of the Bull Pen darkened the lives of the miners of Idaho.

After boycotting $100 cash registers that the workers do not want and can't buy; then boycotting West Virginia coal, although the workers buy their coal by the pail; after boycotting the Union Stock Yards in St. Louis, presuably in the interest of the vegetarians, as that is the only place in St. Louis to get meat; after fawning on every capitalist politician in Washington for months in the interest of the eight-hour law, and then getting spat on for his pains, Mr. Samuel Gompers looked around for other opportunities to make an ass of himself—which I would not mind, were it not that by so doing he makes asses of the workers, too. He hied himself to Idaho; peered through the chinks in the Bull Pen fence; rushed over to Butte; made the same speech he has made for the past twenty-nine years: "Organize, organize, organize!" —and then he disappeared. The A. F. of Hell with its million (?) members had done its "full duty"; but the Bull Pen kept doing business at the same old stand.

As bluff and bombast are the chief cards of the Fakir, Gompers on his return to Washington gave out a statement to the press that the A. F. of L. donated $5,000 to the miners. As a matter of fact they gave one-tenth of that sum.

As I write the American Fakiration of Labor Convention is adjourning. Of course, the Bull Pen was "discussed," but as I well knew the capitalist politicians, who control these "conventions," saw to it that no action was taken. Every fact set forth here was known to Gompers and the Executive Board, for he had been on the spot and learned the whole tale from Ed. Boyce. A stupid resolution condemning outrages in Idaho was passed, that was all. Not a word of warning or advice was given to their members; they feared for their positions as spittoon-cleaners in public buildings. The "boring from within" fakirs of the Hayes type, who bored from within in the S. L. P. so well that they bored themselves out, did a ghost dance, were laughed at by the Fakirs, and the incident closed. They were not there to help their suffering brothers in the Bull Pen. They were there to solve the Labor problem in their own sweet way, viz., by sponging a political job from the capitalist class. The borers may now get it into their thick heads that putting a poultice on a cancer is a more sensible proposition than trying to reform the A. F. of L.

Then the "K. of L." had their turn through his crying nibs, Jeems Sovereign. Jeems when the trouble broke out was running a paper in Shoshone county, called the Idaho "State Tribune." With an eye to future pickings as a capitalist stump speaker he discoursed on everything from free silver to astrology, but not a line on how labor could free itself.

Fear of the Bull Pen caused him to write in a wishy-washy way, until finally he cleared out and informed the unfortunate miners that he was going to work for free silver and Bryan. Unfortunately their presence in the Bull Pen kept them from accelerating his progress with the toe of their boots, for these miners well knew that, although they had helped to increase the circulating medium enormously, the only increase they had received was an increase of bullets in their hide, an increase of tears on the pale faces of their wives, an increase in the misery of their class.

Exit Sovereign!

The next band of Labor Fakirs to appear on the scene was the infamous "Industrial Commission." Formed for the purpose of giving fakirs a job and bamboozling the class they were supposed to represent by side-tracking them from the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, as was admitted by Senator Perkins of California when in the debate on the Commission he arose and said: "This is how workingmen are commencing to organize now," and then, to the astonishment and dread of the capitalists present on the floor of the U. S. Senate, he read the Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance as follows:

> DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.
>
> WHEREAS, In the natural development of capitalism, the class struggle between the privileged few and the disinherited masses, which is the inevitable and irrepressible outcome of the wage system, has reached a point where the old forms, methods and spirit of labor organization are absolutely impotent to resist the aggressions of concentrated capital, sustained by all the agencies of government, and to effect any permanent improvement in the condition of the wage earners, or even to arrest for any length of time their steady and general degradation; and
>
> "WHEREAS, The economic power of the capitalist class, used by that class for the oppression of labor, rests upon institutions essentially political, which in the nature of things cannot be radically changed, or even slightly amended for the benefit of the working people themselves, except through the direct action of the working people themselves, economically and politically united as a class:
>
> THEREFORE, It is as a class, conscious of its strength, aware of its rights, determined to resist wrong at every step and sworn to achieve its own emancipation, that the wage workers are hereby called upon to unite in a solid body, held together by an unconquerable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle. As members of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada, we shall constantly keep in view its great object, namely: The summary ending of that barbarous struggle at the earliest possible time by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization."

This move carried the day, for well the capitalists knew that if the impure and poor and simple "unions" went down one of their strongest bulwarks was gone.

Needless to say, the Labor leaders, who got their fat jobs, were owned body and soul by the capitalist class who appointed them. To send such men to investigate the Bull Pen were equivalent to send Satan to rebuke sin.

How well they did their dirty work can be seen from the fact that on their return to Washington J. L. Kennedy was interviewed by a Washington "Post" correspondent. He denounced the miners; called them "dynamiters," "murderers" and "assassins," and claimed that Steunenberg was a good union man, but he had to declare martial law; Merriam was also right; the Bull Pen was just the thing, etc., etc.

This heading of his interview will give a good idea of its tone:

> **"IDAHO LABOR TROUBLE."**
>
> **"VISIT OF INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION TO COEUR D'ALENE."**
>
> **"Martial Law Was Justified."**
>
> "Reign of Lawlessness Had Existed for Years and the Local Authorities Had Become Terrorized—Mr. John L. Kennedy Gives the Results of the Official Inquiry Into the Conditions that Led to Murder and the Destitution of Property."

Kennedy's version is wholly at variance with that given by the Western Federation of Miners. Kennedy heard the testimony of the mine owners and the testimony of the miners. That testimony differed in important respects, and Kennedy announced that he considers the testimony of the mine owners as the most reliable. The whole interview is an insult to the working class, and clearly shows that Kennedy does not care a continental about that class. I may here state that Kennedy is a workingman that never works. He carries a card in Columbia Typographical Union, but he has not set a line of type for twelve years. From 1889 to 1893 he was a foreman in the Government Printing Office at $1,800 a year, and all that a foreman there has to do is draw his pay. From 1893 to the time he got his appointment as a member of the Industrial Commission he hung around Washington, doing a little newspaper corresponding and spending the rest of his time trying to get on the soft side of members of Congress and other politicians.

The August meeting of the Columbia Typographical Union met on August 20, the same day that interview appeared. Comrade Peirce took the interview down there, read extracts from it, spoke on the subject, and then introduced the following resolutions:

> "WHEREAS, John L. Kennedy was endorsed by thousands of printers for appointment to the 'Industrial Commission,' and
>
> "WHEREAS, John L. Kennedy in an interview published in the Washington 'Post' of August 20, 1899, upholds the capitalist class by contending that the martial law recently declared at Wardner, Idaho, with all its accompanying brutalities, was fully justified; therefore be it
>
> "RESOLVED, By Columbia Typographical Union No. 101 that we censure John L. Kennedy for thus upholding and defending the latest method by which the capitalist class seeks to enslave the working class."

The president of the union ruled the resolutions out of order on the ground that they were "charges" and would have to take the course prescribed for charges. At the sugegstion of some members of the union Peirce then amended the resolutions by calling for the appointment of a committee of five to interview Kennedy as to the authenticity of the interview. After debate the motion was tabled by a vote of about thirty to eighteen.

Thus the Sub-Fakirs come to the assistance of the chief Fakir, and, as far as his own "union" and the I. T. U. generally is concerned, Kennedy is safe. How true is this may be learned from the fact that the Boise, Idaho, Typographical Union, of which Steunenberg is an honorary member, ENDORSED HIM last week, the fakirs again pulling the wires, while, on the same day, the New York "Sun" backs up Boise Typographical Union, and shouts honor to Steunenberg, and then kicks the Boise Union's fellow members in New York in the face, and hires Pinkertons to club them. Verily, verily, the ways of the pure and simple union are strange, and their conception of solidarity is amazing.

Let us ask ourselves a question right here: Can such a thing be called a union? No; unless it be a union of vampires, sucking the proletarians' red blood.

Are the Kennedys, Ratchfords, Gompers, Donnellys, et al., leaders of the proletariat? Again, no. They are stool pigeons of the capitalist class.

What then is our duty in the circumstances?

To serve notice on the rank and file, whose honesty we never doubted, that their Fakir Leaders must go, and their worn out principles must be abandoned. And that if they refuse, they must expect to have their union smashed over their heads, and smashed, too, by the hammer of the S. L. P.

And it is but right and proper that this should be so. The S. L. P. is the child of conflict and the progress of the race is its reward for its battles; and progress we will, if needs be over the bodies of every fakir in the land, and through the debris and ruins of all their capitalis "unions"—such "unions" being but just so many capitalist outposts that must be shattered.

CHAPTER IX.

The Political Side.

It has been the custom in the past when labor troubles occurred in a Democratic district, and the usual clubbing and shooting would take place, for the Republicans to say: "Oh, my dear Mr. Workingman, how cruel are not these Democrats; we Republicans, good friends of Labor that we are, would not treat you this way. Vote for us."

In a Republican district the Democrats would sing in the same key.

This was varied somewhat when the straight Pops came along, while the Fusionists whistled the same old "friend of Labor" tune.

When the wave of political unrest in the West was at its height in '92, Idaho got caught in the undertow. The State went Populist, but there were two brands: The miners' brand in Shoshone County and the farmers' brand in the agricultural centers.

Later on, the Republicans went for silver, the Democrats, too. Finally the issue narrowed itself down to a straight fight between the Union men in Shoshone County against the rest of the State.

Steunenberg, with his "union" card and "union" backing as a decoy, was elected first time with the assistance of the miners. During his first term he showed himself such a friend of the corporations that at the next election, with a Democratic endorsement, he just squeezed in, the miners voting against him.

Although called a Pop ticket in Shoshone County, it was not a Pop ticket in the usual sense. It was really a Miners' Union ticket. Steunenberg knew this, and, although by cajolery, threats and bribes, he sought to win the miners over to him; they stood solid and refused all offers.

A new danger then presented itself to the politicians. An active Socialist agitation had been carried on for some time in the county. This sentiment was now crystallizing in the form of sections of the Socialist Labor Party, organized in Burke and Mullan. Well did the political gang know that this step meant the placing of a straight S. L. P. ticket in the field, with all that that implies. Steunenberg wanted to go to the U. S. Senate. To get there he needed the votes of Shoshone County. The S. L. P. would prevent all that. Need we wonder then that Steunenberg lent a willing ear to the Standard Oil scheme to smash the union, build the Bull Pen, and thereby disfranchise the workingmen of Shoshone County, leaving as voters business men who hated the miners on general principles; hated them so deeply that when the colored troops came to the county first some business men offered a gold watch to the colored trooper who would kill the first miner.

Steunenberg's scheme was ably seconded by Governor Smith, of Montana, who had been elected on a straight Populist ticket, and who, when the men were fleeing from the county after April 29, gave instructions to his officials to allow the Idaho authorities to come in across the State line and arrest any union miners they wanted, without extradition papers, or any of the legal methods pursued in such cases; thus trampling on the State Constitution he had sworn to uphold. In five different towns in Montana his orders were carried out, and the unfortunate union men were dragged back to the Bull Penn without any warrant of law.

How true it is that the desire to gain the political control in the county moved Stuenenberg to act so, may be seen from the fact that a Populist mine doctor testified before the fakirs' Commission that he would "give $5.00 a head for every man in the Bull Pen who was not a Populist" of the pro-union type.

Furthermore, of the 1,600 inmates of the Bull Pen, less than twenty were tried for any offence, and only eight men were convicted.

The Bull Pen was closed in November, but now, two months later, martial law is still on, the "permit" system continues, and the Federal troops are a fixture. To what lengths will not the capitalist class go when their political power is threatened!

Take notice, oh worker, and act.

That Stuenenberg moved at the right moment to smash the union may be judged from the fact that only a few days after the blowing up of the Concentrator, on May 5, at the moment that the union men of Gem were being arrested, the Western Federation of Miners, in their national convention, at Salt Lake City (the largest they have ever held), almost without a dissenting voice, endorsed the Socialist Labor Party.

Steunenberg won out temporarily; but watch for the aftermath.

CHAPTER X.

The Western Federation of Miners.

I have shown the rotten reed the workers have to depend on in the A. F. of L. and the K. of L. Let us now look at the organization that conducted the fight—the W. F. of M.

The Western Federation of Miners is a progressive body; none more so in the economic field to-day, save the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance—its residuary legatee.

The W. F. of M. gave evidence of its progressive and honest spirit three years ago, when it broke away from the corrupt and reactionary A. F. of L.

Again did it display a forward, honorable spirit when it realized the necessity of securing some political power for the workers in their conflicts, by capturing the political power in Shoshone County.

And yet again did it progress when it endorsed our revolutionary political program in '98.

The W. F. of M.'s President, Edward Boyce, and their Secretary, James Maher, have the confidence of every worker in the West, and are feared and hated by every mining capitalist from Marcus Daly to Burbidge. They recognize, as does the bulk of the membership of their organization, that the strategic point in the Labor Movement is the political power, and they will move accordingly towards that position where they can say, after their future strikes, as the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance said after we won the Allegheny strike, that we won because:

> Backed, and known to be backed, by a growing class-conscious Party of the Working Class, the irrepressible economic uprising of the Proletariat can be successful, and can be turned into a valuable coadjutor for emancipation—Only when backed, and known to be backed, by ignorant and corrupt Pure and Simple Fakirdom are the economic uprisings of the Proletariat disheartening flashes in the pan.

Let it be soon

CONCLUSION.—THE S. L. P.

The tale of the Bull Pen is here told; and it is told by the S. L. P., the Party that alone is fit to tell it.

It is now the dulty of the Western Federation of Miners to see that the lessons this strike teaches are learned, and learned well. That nothing save the capture of the public powers by the working class, through the medium of a revolutionary political Party, pledged to overthrow capitalism, and to found the Socialist Republic will suffice, and nothing short of a trade organization, planted on that principle—as is the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance,—can serve as the handmaid and aid to that end. From every hill, ravine, and house top in the West, the banner that is emblematic of the industrial freedom of our class must be floated. Error must be grappled with and overthrown, not compromised. Their position must be that of men standing in the trench with hte sword drawn and the scabbard thrown away, never to be sheathed while wage slavery exists. They must vote themselves on the right side of the guns, the policemen's clubs and the deputies' bayonets. They must vote themselves into the ermine of the Judges on the Bench, knowing that if they fail to do so with the power in their hands, they are not fit to be free; but they will do it, and do it well, for in that way alone can Bull Pens be abolished.

In their struggle they will be assisted by the S. L. P. and S. T. & L. A. that have so far blazed the way through the jungle of reaction, and now march forward facing the rising sun, conscious of the dignity of our class, proud of our achievements in the past, lifted up and exalted by our abiding faith in our ability to carry out our historic mission, the overthrow of all classes and the emancipation of our own.

T. A. HICKEY.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

ROGUE-DEMAGOGUES.

The Haverhill Debs-Democracy Outlined on the Spot.

By **MICHAEL T. BERRY**, Haverhill, Mass.

All freakdom is exultant! On the morning of December 6 the press from one end of the nation to the other told its readers that Haverhill had re-elected a "Socialist" Mayor and sundry other "Socialist" officials.

But there are "Socialists" and Socialists. New York has its "kangaroos," Ohio its "Golden Rule" Jones; elsewhere is the "Repeal of Reason" brand; and Haverhill has its "Social Democracy."

All of these various elements, every one who is suffering from any malady from dyspepsia to muddleheadedness, thinks he is a Socialist. He will proclaim it from the housetops. It is fashionable nowadays.

No two of them can be found who think that Socialism stands for the same thing. Each of them thinks that Socialism represents his own private idea; each of them is dominated by some fad which he, she or it thinks should form THE basis of the structure which is to be. All of them think that they, and they alone, are the axis around which revolves the Social Revolution. They are all so "broad" that the Socialist Labor Party has no charms for them. They dodge it as the night owl dodges the first appearance of the morning's light:—"it is too narrow" for them. This conglomeration—the Debs Democracy—with which I here have to deal, has a somewhat interesting history.

History of the Debsites.

For some time prior to February, 1897, the dominant spirits in the genus Haverhill were members of the then Section Haverhill, S. L. P. All of a sudden, shortly after F. G. R. Gordon, of "Different Tactics" notoriety, then of Manchester, N. H., now associate editor of the "Repeal of Reason," left the S. L. P. lest he be kicked out, this brigade left also. They had discovered that the S. L. P. could not be manipulated to their liking, so they started out in search of a "short cut" to Socialism, a sort of a Northwest Passage to the Co-operative Commonwealth. After a few weeks spent in looking for a resting place, they joined hands with the "New Jerusalem" Debs Democracy of colonization fame; when that went on the rocks, afterwards to be revamped and half-soled, the Haverhill contingent occupied front seats at the opening.

We are now facing the State election of 1898. Under the official designation of "Democratic Social Nomination Papers," the Haverhill brigade entered the campaign of '98, where they succeeded in electing Carey and Scates. Scates was elected on the strength of a strike among the street railway men which he participated in losing. Carey was elected from a stronghold of Republicanism through the manipulation of the Democrats who went over almost to a man, the Democratic candidate only receiving 55 votes out of a Democratic strength of at least 275, which this same Democrat received the year before.

On the strength of these successes the Debsists entered the municipal contest, which came off a month later, and which resulted in the election of their candidate Chase for Mayor, together with 3 Aldermen of a possible 7, 3 Councilmen out of 14.

Debsites and Labor Fakirs Join Hands.

No sooner were the candidates of Debsomania in the field, than they began to claim everything in sight. They made up with the "High Dues" Labor Fakir Tobin and his local representative, who used their pull with the union men in the interest of the Debs ticket. The manufacturers got scared at the brag and bluster which was being made and went to taking "straw" votes in the factories, where the Tobin element still held out; these shops always favored Chase. It so happened that the Republicans were running a candidate whom many of his own party were only to anxious to knife. The Democratic candidate was doomed anyhow; so to make the Republican defeat certain some one nominated a "Prohib," who polled votes enough to let Chase in.

This brings us to January 1, 1899. The distinguishing mark of the Debsite is that his argument is always ambiguous. When the local tribe found that they had elected a Mayor, they wobbled worse than ever. Space forbids a recital here of their sugaring jobs at about this time. Suffice it to say that they at once patched up a treaty with the middle class. Chase, the first "Socialist" Mayor, was the lion of the hour. He was the invited guest everywhere, from a wake down to the Boston Boot and Shoe Club. When these "Socialists" are talking to the working class they are as radical as Mazzinis; but when they get before the Boston Boot and Shoe Club, or like organizations, they sail a different course and defend the "Glasgow Plan." The thought uppermost in their minds at all times is how to catch votes. However ignorant they may be upon other things, they do know one thing—that is, that if they don't win their life is short.

Debsites Fuse With Bryanites.

Dominated by that thought their career has been one constant wobble, the result of which was that when the State campaign came to an end on November 7 last, and the result known, it disclosed the fact that THE DEBS DEMOCRACY AND THE BRYAN DEMOCRACY WERE PRACTICALLY ONE, and in more ways than one:—Porter, the Debs candidate for Governor, received nearly twice as many votes as did Paine, the Bryan candidate, while the Republicans held their own, as did the S. L. P. While the S. D. P. nearly doubled their vote for Governor, they lost one representative, Scates, who was defeated. Carey was re-elected, the Republicans alone opposing him, the Democrats, with the same candidate as in '98, claimed that THEY FORGOT TO FILE THEIR NOMINATION CERTIFICATE UNTIL TOO LATE!!

We are now on the verge of the municipal election of 1899, an election which contains much food for thought valuable to the extent that therein may be discovered the real middle class Bryanistic character of the S. D. P. The Debsites entered the municipal contest with a full ticket, headed by Chase, the present Mayor. The S. L. P. placed in the field a full ticket in Ward 5, and with a Mayoralty candidate, also candidates for Aldermen in Wards 1, 5, 6 and 7. The Republican and Democratic heelers got together in a cellar and made a "slate," which was afterward ratified by the city committees of both old parties, and went on the official ballot as a fusion or "citizens" movement.

The Debsites immediately began to howl about the fusion made in a "cellar," but neither they nor their opponents said one word about the "cellar" deal in which the now Debsites participated in February, '97, when they sought to ground the currents of the Social Revolution, when they (with their "invited guests") intrigued against the S. L. P., and the next night caused the surrender of the charter of the then Section Haverhill. Perhaps the Debsites thought that was one of their "divine rights."

No sooner was the fusion candidate nominated, than began the cry of "Americanism vs. Socialism!" The heelers of the citizens movement at once began to arraign the Debsites as "Socialists." From the start these crooks used the S. L. P. municipal programme, arguing against it, on the ground of "Economy," and charging the Debsites with being committed to it, etc.!!!

The Debsites Lay Curbstones.

The Debsites met these "allegations" by showing how many more feet of cobble gutters and curbstones had been laid during the administration of Chase than ever before in the same time, and at the same time set up a loud howl which they had used before, "Cheaper Gas." Why they wanted anything cheaper than the gas they were using is a mystery, but they did; they used this slogan for all it was worth, and had the matter submitted to the Gas Commission,—where it is now resting peacefully.

The Republicans, when they entered into the fusion with the Democrats, intentionally or otherwise, overlooked an extremely important particular, which was that there was nothing for them to fuse with worthy of consideration. It will be remembered that at the State election the Bryan Democracy had swallowed the Debs Democracy, and called itself "Social Democracy." So when in the city election the Dems tried to deliver the "goods," they found them in the possession of their former owners, the Debsites, as per invoice rendered.

One other matter that is of more than passing moment is the question of the abolition of grade crossings. For many years there has gone on in this city an intermittent agitation for the abolition of certain grade crossings, which are a nuisance to life and limb. In 1896 the S. L. P. made, as one of the "immediate demands" in its platform the abolition of these crossings. The Dems, Reps, and Prohibs came forward and said, "We, too, want them death-traps abolished." The Democratic candidate won out on that issue, which was made a foot-ball in local politics, and has been used as such ever since by every skate who had otherwise reached the end of his tether.

Grade Crossings and Social Revolution.

Not that grade crossings should not be abolished; not that; but, like municipal ownership, it can be used as a capitalist scheme; that is what happened before, and it happened again this year to the extent that in Ward 5, which is the chief beneficiary, a ward which is as yet largely undeveloped, which contains many capitalists as well as a large working class population, a ward which will be in the near future the home of the large factories without hardly an exception, in this ward the capitalists voted for Chase. Notable amongst the "class-conscious" votes which came to the S. D. P. from this source was the one cast for them by that veteran sandbagger of the working class, William M. Chick of the firm of Chick Bros., who were the fathers of the "contract" which figured so conspicuously in the great shoe-workers' strike of 1895.

Locally this man is regarded as the "non plus ultra" amongst the skinners of labor; he is a skinner from Skinnersville, born and brought up at the job.

No doubt, he voted for the S. D. P. candidates because of the fact that they had made the question of the abolition of grade crossings one of the prominent demands of their platform, and as a large real estate owner and manufacturer he would be benefited thereby. But the question arises, all things considered, had the S. D. P. been the bona fide Party of the Revolution, had they stood firmly and uncompromisingly against Mr. Chick at all other points would he have voted for them? He knew one thing which all capitalists know, and that is that the Socialist Labor Party, and it alone is the only foe they have to fear; that all others, however loudly they may declaim against "clanging factory gates," however much they may point at the iniquities of capitalism by offering in evidence their "blighted boyhood,"—they at best are but "reformers," and capitalism has nothing to fear from that source.

But to resume. The grade crossings' matter contributed largely to the election of Chase and his colleagues this year; the Chick vote typefies many an ardent supporter of the Debs Democracy in Haverhill.

In the race for votes, nothing was left undone to "get there" by the Debsites. The literature which they circulated was of all varieties, and to suit any taste from the middle-class cobble gutter and cheap gas arguments to some which dealt with "Socialism and the home." The best picture of this crew which has yet been drawn to my attention is by a local S. L. P. man who puts it thus:

> Nor do they trust their tongues alone,
> But speak a language of their own:
> Convey a libel in a frown,
> And wink with a reputation down.

The "Cellar" deal and the well-known middle-class nature of the S. D. P. caused the downfall of the "Citizens'" candidate for mayor, the Debsites electing Chase with three aldermen, three councilmen, and all school-committeemen. The presence of the S. L. P. candidate for alderman in Ward 4 cost the Debsites the loss of their candidate; had he been elected it would have given them the majority in the upper board.

During the entire campaign the "Citizens" and Debsites alike conducted a sort of bargain-counter or "land-office" sale. Each of them held forth with brass bands, and an audience intoxicated by jokes at the other fellows' expense. The Debs speakers never went beyond the bounds of a "middle-of-the-road" populist injecting just enough of the Socialist argument to catch the workingman made desperate by the robbery of capitalism, made gullible by his connection for many years with "pure and simple" labor fakirs.

The speakers of the "Citizens'" movement howled loud and long against Socialism. Socialism was what they feared; they told the working class so, but religiously abstained from telling the working class what they really meant by Socialism. It is true that they fear Socialism, but Socialism and Debsism are quite different things.

Debsism vs. Socialism.

In all the beating of drums and tinkling of cymbals indulged in by these rivals of capitalism in a campaign that was, perhaps, the hottest ever waged in this city, the Socialist Labor Party held its own and gained. Gained one vote over last year; gained in the estimation of workingmen who noted the difference between the honest and uncompromising attitude of the S. L. P.

It has all passed into history. Some time when the working class of Haverhill regain their normal condition; when they see their chance which they have given to the S. D. P. and which it would not, if it could, avail itself of; when they stop to think how that chance was used; when that is done, and the memory of what the S. L. P. has taught and told them, then they will realize that to be free the working class must build not on REFORM but on REVOLUTION, the representation of which is the Socialist Labor Party, the only organization which can do anything that will permanently improve the condition of the exploited, disinherited wage slaves of Haverhill, Massachusetts, or of the world. A Party which, when invested with the power of government, will not waste its time to chloroform the working class with middle-class municipal ownership schemes, cheaper gas rates for manufacturers and small traders, etc., but will use that power to weld into one irresistible phalanx the working class for the purpose of abolishing the last and meanest forms of slavery—the capitalist system of wage slavery.

The discoveries of the materialist conception of history and the secret of Capitalist Production through Surplus Value, we owe to Marx. With them, Socialism became a Science.—FREDERICK ENGELS.

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To the Smaller Sections of the Socialist Labor Party:

While it is true that the great battles for the Socialist Republic must be fought in the centres of capitalism, still when the tocsin sounds and the phalanxes forward march, the scattered forces throughout the length and breadth of the United States will have their duties to perform. Every village and hamlet will have its group of guards for the outposts. The time to drill the guards is NOW, and the WAY to drill them is by distributing Socialist leaflets.

There are many small Sections of the Party that hesitate to purchase leaflets in thousand lots of one kind for fear they will be unable to use them all. To aid such Sections we offer bundles of assorted leaflets, 1,000 to the bundle, which will be sent, prepaid by mail, for $1.50. These leaflets have been prepared by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, and are just the thing to set people to thinking. Each one covers some of the fundamental principles of Socialism. Every bundle contains the following assortment:

100	The Trust.
100	Why American Workingmen Should be Socialists.
100	Social Effect of Machinery.
100	What Shall We Do To Be Saved?
100	Socialism.
100	The Class Struggle.
50	Attitude of the Socialist Labor Party Toward Trade Unions.
50	Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan.
50	What is Socialism?
50	An Appeal to the Workers to Enroll Themselves in the Ranks of the Socialist Labor Party.
25	An Appeal of the Irish Socialist Republican Party to the Working-Class Irish of America.
25	A Plain Statement of Facts.
25	Middle Class Municipalization and the Municipal Program of the Socialist Labor Party.
25	The Modern Tragedy.

New York Labor News Company,
147 East 23d St., New York City.

The Economics of Socialism.

By H. M. HYNDMAN. Cloth, $1.20.

It is quite common to hear people say they cannot read understandingly Karl Marx's "Capital," and the wall that stops them is his analysis of value and surplus value. "Economics of Socialism" was written to popularize these two fundamental principles of Modern Socialism. It will serve as a good introduction to "Capital."

CONTENTS.—Methods of Production; Value; Surplus Value; Circulation of Commodities; Industrial Crises; Rent, Interest and Profit; The Final Utility of Final Utility.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY,
147 East 23d Street, New York City.

THE PEOPLE.

Published by the Socialist Labor Party. Henry Kuhn
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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2,068
In 1890	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In 1894	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)	36,564
In 1898	**82,204**

1900.

Come forth from the valley, come forth from the hill,
Come forth from the workshop, the mine, and the mill,
From pleasure or slumber, from study or play,
Come forth in your myriads to aid us to-day:
There's a word to be spoken, a deed to be done.
A truth to be utter'd, a cause to be won.
Come forth in your myriads! come forth every one!

Come, youths in your vigor; come, men in your prime;
Come, age, with experience fresh gather'd from time;
Come, workers! you're welcome; come thinkers, you must.
Come thick as the clouds in the midsummer dust,
Or the waves of the sea gleaming bright in the sun!
There's a truth to be told, and a cause to be won—
Come forth in your myriads, come forth every one.

MACKAY.

IMPEACH McKINLEY!

The capitalist press of the country, of all shades of capitalism—Democratic as well as Republican, Silver as well as Gold-Bug, Protection as well as Free Trade,—has, during the last two weeks, been editorializing and reportorializing at a wondrous rate on the subject of "contraband of war," apropos of the seizure of certain American cargoes by British men-of-war. These articles are written in such a way that, the more of them the public reads, the less is it able to understand the subject:—and that is the purpose of the writers; and deep is the meaning thereof.

The subject of "contraband of war" is not the tangled subject that it is attempted to make it appear; least of all is it tangled in the present instance. It is plain, easy to understand under all circumstances; and especially plain is it in this case.

"Contraband of war" is the name given to goods in transit, the acquisition of which would strengthen the fighting arm of a belligerent. It follows from this simple and unquestionably correct definition, that, in order to determine whether an article in transit is "contraband of war," the first thing to ascertain is whether the article is consigned to a belligerent or not. If it is, even then the article may not fall within the category of "contraband of war"; gold bangles for women, toys for children, consigned to a belligerent, would, self-evidently, not be articles of a nature to strengthen the belligerent's fighting arm; on the other hand, the otherwise innocent articles of food might, under given conditions, fully fall within the category of "contraband of war," inasmuch as they might be used to sustain the fighting arm of a belligerent. Clear enough, in all these cases, very delicate and fine questions of fact, covering a wide range of military tactics and social conditions, might arise, giving ample scope to discussion; and the seizure of such goods by one of the belligerents would be justified, subject to subsequent adjudications. But it is equally clear that no such questions or discussions can at all arise if the articles in question are not consigned to a belligerent. Cannon balls, for instance, are unquestionable articles of warfare, the possession of which adds material power to military operations; yet cannon balls, shipped by one neutral to another, can under no circumstances be construed to be "contraband of war"; the seizure of such goods by one of the belligerents is an unqualified act of piracy—unless tolerated by the neutral from whose shore it is shipped and by the neutral to whose shore it is consigned; and in such case, both such nations strip themselves of neutrality, and rank themselves as belligerent allies of the belligerent that makes the seizure.

These being the irrefutable principles, what are the facts in the case?

England and the Transvaal are just now belligerents. Pending this war, three vessels laden with American provisions, left the neutral port of New York, consigned to the neutral port of Lorenzo Marquez, in Delagoa Bay, a Portuguese possession, and were seized by British men-of-war on the allegation that, as Delagoa Bay borders on the Transvaal, the belligerent Transvaal might, could or would provision itself on that Portuguese territory.

The fact that both Lorenzo Marquez, the destination of the goods, and New York, the place of shipment, are neutral port, throws the goods without further discussion, out of the category of "contraband of war"; the further fact that both the McKinley Administration and the Portuguese Government winked at the seizure, have, in fact, under cover of "inquiring," justified them, is tantamount to a declaration of war by both against the Transvaal, a declaration of war under conditions, at that, that place the United States and Portugal in a subaltern position in the ranks of the belligerent England.

And these are the simple facts and principles which the variegated capitalist press is, in chorus, trying the scuttlefish game on, by seeking to confuse the public mind with the aid of labored dissertations, together with finespun theories and quotations from treaties and books on international law, on what is, what is not, and what might, could or would be "contraband of war,"—but never the essential points that alone would clarify the whole question.

We are not here concerned with Portugal; nevertheless, virtually dependent of England as Portugal is, this country's ranking itself alongside of Portugal as a British subaltern ally may serve to help illumine the situation.

The United States can declare war only by action of Congress; Congress has not uttered a word. By the action of McKinley alone, the nation becomes a belligerent, and a belligerent lackey, at that; and yet Congress is silent.

The capitalist class of America, with its gold and its silver-bug heiresses intermarried with the rowdy British nobility, is just now exemplifying its Benedict Arnold character. Its Republican Executive sells out the country, and its Democratic Congressmen sit silently by emphasizing their silence by rhodomontade speeches in favor of "the embattled farmers of the Transvaal, struggling for freedom," yet not once uttering the one word that fits the occasion:

IMPEACH McKINLEY!

"The Story of the Bull Pen"—remarkable in itself for the picture it draws—together with the article "Financial"—also remarkable for the picture it presents—and both found in this issue, are, in fact, supplemental. They outline in clear strokes that feature of Capital that marks it at its height a destructive monster that carries ruin, death, woe into every home.

That standard capitalist concern of the country—the Standard Oil Monopoly—typical of what capitalism ripens into, is found to-day stretching one arm out into the Far West, smiting Labor and conjuring rapine in Idaho, and, at the same time, stretching the other arm out into New York, convulsing the stock exchange and carrying ruin into the ranks of the small fry of would-be large capitalist sharks. Nor is this all. The monster turns up equipped cap-a-pie with all the power of government. At its beck, the military forces of the nation rush to introduce slaughter in one place, while the Treasury of the nation steps up obedient to the monster's needs to ensure its success in ruining minor capitalists in another.

The two are a pen-picture of Capitalist power and crime.

On Thursday, the 11th instant, the hearing will be held before the Attorney-General of New York, on the application of Section New York, S. L. P., to dissolve the treasonable, police-spy conspiracy, known in the city as the "Volkszeitung Corporation." Of course, rid the working class of a vile adversary. In this instance, however, the police-spy concern is a flagrant violator of the very corporation laws that itself started legal proceedings on, intending to injure the Party; while, on the other hand, the proceedings now instituted by the Party, and of which the present is only a starter, are planted upon unquestionable proprietary rights, which the Party takes a stand on, and which the Attorney-General is sworn to uphold.

THE PROLETARIAN FAMILY.

A Warning to the Riotous Capitalist Class of the Twentieth Century.

The "missionless novel" is purely a product of these later days of Capitalism. Formerly a novelist was always a person who had a message to convey to the world, and conveyed that message in the garb of fiction in order that his words might edge their way into prejudiced minds. To-day we have a host of parasitic "authors" who openly announce, as did F. Marion Crawford some time ago, that they write novels for the rich for no other purpose than to in this way get their fingers on the money that the rich happen to have temporarily in their possession. And it is a pleasure to turn from the vaporings that ooze from the average present-day novelist to one of the old-time school with a teaching on his lips. Such an author was Eugène Sue, and in "The Carpenter of Nazareth" he has utilized the materialist portion of the life of "The Carpenter" to weave into thrilling romance the class antagonisms that made life a burden to the Roman "Common people" two thousand years ago.

The character of the novel cannot better be epitomized than by giving the preface:

"Eugène Sue wrote in French a monumental work: 'The Mysteries of the People: or the History of a Proletarian Family.' It is a 'work of fiction,' yet it is the best universal history extant; better than any work avowedly on history, it graphically traces the special features of the several systems of class rule as they have succeeded each other from epoch to epoch, together with the nature of the struggle between the contending classes. The 'Law,' 'Order,' 'Patriotism' and 'Religion' that each successive tyrant class, despite its change of form, hysterically sought refuge in to justify its criminal existence whenever threatened; the various economic causes of the oppression of the toilers; the mistakes incurred by these in their struggles for redress; the varying fortunes of the conflict—all these social dramas are therein reproduced in a majestic series of 'historic novels,' covering leading and successive episodes in the history of the race.

"'The Carpenter of Nazareth' is one of these historic novels. It has a singular fitness to modern times in one important respect:

"The unity of action of the oppressors, despite hostile politico-material interests and clashing religious views; the hypocrisy that typifies them all; the oneness of fundamental purpose that animates pulpit, professional chair or public office in possession of a plundering class; and last, but not least, the identity of methods pursued and the pretenses seized by the plundering and ruling class at that long-ago critical period in the history of the human race, when the pre-feudal colossus of the Roman Empire was, by force of its own power, beginning to strangle itself, and at the present, or third critical period, when the grandchild of that Roman system and child of Feudalism-Capitalism is in turn, by virtue of its own ripened colossal power, throttling itself to death, and with its death throes heralding the advent of a new civilization—the Socialist Social System.

"'The Carpenter of Nazareth' is a pathetic page from history that holds the mirror up to the Capitalist Class—its orators, pulpiteers, politicians, lawyers, together with all its other menials of high and low degree—and, by the reflexion cast, enlightens and warns."

There was a proletariat in the Roman Empire, and the recital by Genevieve, "A Slave of Aurelia," of the sights she saw in the efforts of the then proletariat to remove the yoke of oppression from its neck will afford a pleasant relaxation to the student, and will awaken a note of sympathy in the heart of the general reader.

Price, 25 cents. Cloth, 50 cents.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS,
147 E. 23d st., New York City.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The American capitalist class has outstripped its European cousins in all departments of capitalist chicanery—religious hypocrisy as a means to acquire earthly gains among others. That missionaries are frequently only "drummers" in disguise is now well known. The Des Moines, Ia., "Daily News" now tells this tale, plain and brazen:

"It frequently has been stated that it pays to send missionaries abroad even from a commercial standpoint. This is true as to Korea. In that country, as in Africa and other countries, the missionary has blazed the way for commerce.

"Recent dispatches tell of the remarkable influence acquired by the Americans in Korea. Concessions have been granted to the latter denied to all other foreigners. This influence, it is stated, is the result of the missionary efforts of the churches in America.

"When Korea was first opened to the foreigners, Dr. Underwood was sent from this country as a missionary. As a consequence, the first railroad concession was granted to Americans, they have built the first street car line, and have received many other benefits."

"Arbetaren," the Swedish organ of the S. L. P., tells this excellent story of how the guns of a prohibitionist objector to the Socialist Labor Party were spiked:

Prohibitionist:—"My only objection to the Socialist Labor Party is that Socialists get drunk."

Socialist:—"All Socialists?"

Prohibitionist:—"No; not all; probably not even a majority; but some do."

Socialist:—"And is that the reason why you do not join the Party?"

Prohibitionist:—"That is the only reason."

Socialist:—"Are you a married man?"

Prohibitionist:—"Why, yes; and have seven children."

Socialist:—"How came you to marry, seeing that there are so very many husbands who get drunk?"

THE SUMMIT STRIKE.

All the Forces of Reaction Band Themselves Against the S. T. & L. A.

[Report of Gen. Sec'y to the G. E. B.]

In submitting this report of the strike of the Broad Silk Weavers of Summit, N. J., I shall endeavor to show the causes which led up to the trouble, the part which the Alliance has taken in the same, and the elements that interfered and were the means by which another record can be added to that already long list of defeats that the wage-workers have suffered in their struggles with the Capitalist class.

The employees of the Summit Silk Mills are composed of six different nationalities; not having any training, so to speak, in the work of organization, they were suspicious of one another. This was the state the weavers were in when the first reduction was made last May. Hence, they accepted the same. The firm, hearing no protest, and seeing that nothing was being done to unite the weavers, gave another reduction in July. This was submitted to, as in the first instance. On Oct. 2d the third reduction was made, and a shop organization was set up. On Oct. 4th, the shop committee waited on the firm and demanded the old prices. The demands were refused, and all the weavers walked out of the mills. The firm, having just completed a new building, had a number of changes to make in their plant, and, as business was slow, closed the mill.

This was the state of the trouble when Comrade Carvalho, a silk weaver, called at the office and requested me to send an organizer to Summit, and explained the aims and objects of the Alliance to the strikers, whereupon they decided to apply for a charter, and were organized and atached to D. A. ', of Newark, N. J. On leaving them that day I advised them to make no demonstration that would give the firm the least pretext for calling on the authorities for protection. At the meeting of D. A. 4 on Nov. 26th, their delegates were absent, and when I called their attention to this fact later, they said they had forgotten to send delegates there.

The firm, having kept the mills closed for two months, and, thinking that by that time whatever little funds the strikers might have had must be exhausted, sent for a committee of the strikers and told them that if they would go to work they would return to them part of the reductions, and if they did not accept this proposition they could consider themselves discharged, the firm would engage new help, and all of those who lived in the Company's houses would have to move. This did not, as the company thought it would, weaken the strikers; the dispossess warrants were served, and the strikers moved to other quarters.

The firm then advertised for new help. On Dec. 4th, the first lot of scabs were brought in, and the wage workers of Summit experienced their second lesson in Capitalistic persecution. When the scabs arrived at the depot, they were received by the firm and a guard of honor, consisting of the police force of the city. A line was at once formed, and, flanked on all sides, the scabs began their march to the mills. The strikers and their sympathizers tried to persuade the scabs to join them. The firm, not wishing their cattle interfered with, commanded the police to prevent any one from interfering with their help. In obedience to their masters, the police pushed the wage workers aside and threatened to arrest them if they said another word. This action caused the strikers and their friends to become indignant and make a demonstration, that gave the authorities the opportunity they were looking for. The alarm was immediately sounded, calling all fire wardens and special officers of the city to the mills. The scene which followed will long be remembered in Summit. A riot ensued; stones were thrown, clubs used and revolvers fired, and the whole town thrown into a fever of excitement. After the scabs were safely housed in the mills, warrants were issued for about 30 of the strikers, and when they were brought before the Judge, were fined from $5 to $50.

One of the strikers, who had been fined $50, had the same reduced to $30, and was told by the Judge that if he would go to work in the mills, or leave the city, the fine would be remitted.

On Dec. 10th the delegates of the Summit Local attended the meeting of D. A. 4, and the District, after hearing their report of the strike, decided to assist them both morally and financially, and issued an appeal for aid, and requested the G. E. B. to endorse the same. Mass meetings were called in Summit to explain the side of the strikers and denounce the authorities for the part they had played, and to explain to the silk weavers there the trouble and persecution which their fellow craftsmen were undergoing at the hands of the Capitalists of Summit.

On Monday, Dec. 11th, there were 22 scabs working in the mills. By request of the Local, I called on the firm, and succeeded in bringing about a meeting between the firm and a committee of the strikers, with a view to adjusting the trouble. The firm then offered the following:

1st—To raise the price on two different jobs ½ cent per yard

2d—To restore 1½ cents of a 3 cent reduction. To speed up the looms and use heavier silk, and if the weavers could not make as much as they did before the reduction under these conditions, better arrangements would be made later.

3d—All the strikers to get their old places back again.

4th—The Union to be recognized through a shop committee.

5th—The scabs to be allowed to remain, but they would be put in a different part of the mills.

This proposition was submitted to the strikers and was rejected. A counter proposition was drawn up by the strikers, and when the same was submitted to the firm, they (the firm) stated it demanded higher wages than was ever paid before, and they refused to have anything further to do with the strikers.

The mass meeting in Summit was well attended, and was addressed by Comrade Carless and myself. The remarks were well received, and created an agitation which will bear good fruit in the future for our movement in general.

The mass meeting in Paterson was well attended, and the remarks of the speakers were well received there also, and the sympahty of the audience was with the Summit strikers.

In the above I have shown you the cause of the strike, the part the Alliance took in the same, and the prospects of a settlement of the trouble, had outsiders not interfered, and had the strikers been honest to themselves and to the organization which they had joined. But, they were not.

I have stated that the strikers were organized into the Alliance by their own request, on Nov. 16th. Imagine my surprise when I was told by their leader, Dick Fowler, on the night of the Paterson mass meeting that, four days after they had been organized, they had voted to withdraw from the Alliance. This is the story he told me. An Anarchist from Paterson had come to the strikers' meeting on Nov. 20th, and had given them $100, and told them to withdraw from the Alliance and join the Paterson Union; if they did not do this, he told them they would get no further assistance, and that the Alliance could do nothing for them. This statement was backed up by the Kangaroo reporter of the New York "Volkszeitung," who went among the German members and advised them to get out of the Alliance, and who printed scurrilous articles in the "Volkszeitung," belittling and denouncing the work done by the S. T. & L. A.

Another element that tried to interfere was the S. D. P., in the persons of the unsavorily notorious James Allman and Joseph Barondess. These worthies wished to addrses the strikers (provided they [the strikers] would hire a hall for them) on the great benefits of pure and simple unionism, and incidentally, to denounce the S. T. & L. A. But the strikers refused to have anything to do with them; they claimed that there was already too much outside interference.

The Kangaroo reporter, who told the German strikers not to accept the proposition of the firm, saw that the mills were filling up, and the strike was in a fair way to be lost. The Germans saw this also, and were beginning to think that his advice was not as good as they thought at first. They now saw that it would have been better to accept the proposition which the Alliance officers had succeeded in getting from the firm, than to lose the strike altogether. But they went to a Kangaroo reporter and told him this. He told them that there was no cause to worry, the strike was not lost. That he would at once see the officers of the C. L. F., of New York, which has a membership of 200,000 (?) and get this "big organization" to assist them morally and financially.

The next morning I reported to the meeting of the strikers just what their leaders had told me, and was informed that it was all true, and they said that they now saw their mistake. They also admitted that if they had followed the advice given them when they were organized, their strike would have been settled in a satisfactory manner, for the time being at least, and they could have maintained their organization.

After this meeting, the followers of the S. D. P., Kangaroos and Anarchists, who had refused the proposition that the Alliance officers advised them to accept, saw that, through their own actions, the strike was broken. A number of them returned to work that day.

In conclusion, I will say that the most of the money which was raised for the strikers has been spent in lawyers' fees, fines, etc. Very little of it, if any, has been used to directly relieve the distress among the strikres.

The above should be a lesson to all wage workers. The Summit weavers are victims of the "Volkszeitung" and its allies. Those who can return to work, do so at the boss's terms; but we hope that the lseson that this strike has taught them will bear good fruit, should they again be compelled to resist the encroachments of the employer.

WM. L. BROWER,
Sec. of the S. T. & L. A.

Lectures in New York.

The City Executive Committee of Section New York, S. L. P., have made arrangements to have Comrades T. Hickey and B. F. Keinard, National Organizers of the S. L. P., deliver lectures on Socialism, at mass meetings to be held in the various Assembly Districts in the Boroughs of Manhattan, Bronx and Brooklyn. The meetings for next week which will begin at 8 p. m., are as follows:

Comrade Hickey's tour:

January 10th—At North Star Hall, 1898 Fulton street, Brooklyn.

January 11th—At 508 Second avenue, Manhattan.

Comrade Keinard's tour:

January 7th—At 481 Willis avenue, Bronx.

January 8th—At 316 East 54th street, Manhattan.

January 12th—169 E. 109th street, Manhattan.

The "Letter of Marx," printed on the 7th page of this issue, is as valuable as it is hard reading. Let it not be superficially skimmed over. Fusion always implies abandonment of principle. The point must not be overlooked in our generation.

Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan

BROTHER JONATHAN—There are several questions I'd like to ask you about Socialism and the Socialist Labor Party.

UNCLE SAM—Give us the first.

B. J.—How will you remove the prejudice there is to-day against the Socialist Labor Party?

U. S.—There is no prejudice to remove.

B. J.—There isn't? Why, lots of it. I could mention to you a dozen or more men who are full of prejudice against it.

U. S.—Did you ever read Artemus Ward's account of his wife's prejudice against getting up on cold mornings and building the fire?

B. J.—I don't call that a prejudice. I call it a dislike for a certain thing.

U. S.—Ditto, ditto with the alleged "prejudice" of some people against the Socialist Labor Party.

B. J.—But——

U. S.—These people don't entertain a prejudice against the S. L. P. any more than Artemus Ward's Betsy Jane had a prejudice against getting up first and warming the house. The groundwork of "prejudice" is a mistaken belief. She had no mistaken belief in the matter; she knew exactly what it meant, and did not want it. These people, who, you say, have a prejudice against the S. L. P., entertain no mistaken notions about the Party; they know just what it stands for, and they, consistently enough, don't want it.

B. J.—Then they are right?

U. S.—From their standpoint, yes. I'll tell you who they are. One set consists of the moral and intellectual flotsam and jetsam of society; a lot of crooks and lightweights full of conceit; their aim is to fish in troubled waters, to "get there" at the expense and sacrifice of everything. These worthies have for the S. L. P. the "prejudice" of the mouse for the cat. They know that they are thoroughly known. Some have been in the Party before, and have been kicked out; others know that, if they joined, they would, sooner or later, have to join the kickees. To all of them the S. L. P. is a nuisance, and I can't blame them.

B. J.—But there are——

U. S.—Another set consists of the "pure and simple" labor fakirs. So long as the S. L. P., as yet too weak to assert itself, used to play the despicable poltroon role of a "complaisant husband," it was dearly beloved by them, and they had a free field for their iniquitous conduct against the rank and file. Now that's changed. The S. L. P. has drawn the sword against all plunderers of the working class. These labor fakirs have felt our blows. They have no prejudice against us; they know that the S. L. P. has rung the knell of their doom; they hate us; I can't blame them.

B. J.—Yes; but there are people who fall under neither of these categories and who oppose the S. L. P.

U. S.—All others oppose the S. L. P. honestly——

B. J.—Well, what will you do to gain their support?

U. S.—They are divisible into two classes: Capitalists and such whose interests are dead set against us, and bona fide workers, whose interests are with us, and who don't yet see it——

B. J.—And how will you go about it to make them see their interests?

U. S.—By carrying on the warfare against capitalist rascality and all its outposts or manifestations with ever increasing relentlessness. Only such a course will make us understood by the class that belongs to us. Only that will bring victory. The "prejudies" against us are a reliable barometer of our progress.

S. L. P.

[Written for THE PEOPLE by Byron Efford, Revere, Mass.]

> "There is to-day, in America, a race being run between the Socialist Labor Party and Capitalism: the former to seize the existing democratically organized public powers, the latter to overthrow them."—THE PEOPLE.

O strong young PARTY, in thy grace,
All fearless in this mighty race,
Thy enthroned adversary sneers,
Abhorring all thy winning years,
And in deceitful deeds of shame,
Link with foul words thy honored name,
This many a day.

They stand aghast in baffled rage,
All those who would thy virtue cage,
They know not eighty thousand strong,
Would shield thee from all vice and wrong,
Who would not hesitate to throw
Their lives between thee and the foe,
This very day.

O PARTY, on thy fair young brow,
The oak leaves cling more firmly now,
For conspirators in fretful awe,
Must bow before thy Native law,
And they who dare to dim thy fame,
Or filch from thee thy Righteous name,
Shall rue the day.

For thee, this year, science will rise,
Like fragrant incense to the skies,
The torch will gleam above thy form,
And light thy path amid the storm,
The written word shall Daily soar,
And drop thy balm at Labor's door,
Come, speed the day.

Thy growth with every passing hour,
Shall bud and blossom into flower,
While justice in thy fields shall rest,
For every wage-slave now oppressed,
And Liberty will bourgeon swell,
Like leafy stem and honied bell,
In summer time.

And generous men will spring like oak,
To sing the joys and crack the joke,
And lovely maids shall wend no more,
Their feet near prostitution's door,
And all the wars of bread will cease,
Beneath thy mantling folds of Peace,
On that glad day.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

LAND AND MACHINERY.

By LUCIEN SANIAL.

(A Lecture delivered before the New York American Section of the Socialist Labor Party in 1889.)

The chief physical needs of man are three—food, shelter, and raiment.

Of food we can to-day produce an unlimited supply; and, as we progress, facts not only disprove the Malthusian doctrine, that "population naturally tends to increase faster than the power to produce subsistence," but prove inversely that, taking the world as a whole, "the power to produce subsistence increases faster than population." There are, it is true, some countries of small extent, densely inhabited, where the soil, however productive, cannot be made to yield a sufficiency of food for its people. Such is Belgium, for instance, where the density of population has reached the apparently large figure of 485 to the square mile. But the existence of such countries, like that of large cities, is made possible by the mechanism of exchange, through which the surplus production of coal here, or of cloth there, is readily bartered for the surplus of food produced elsewhere. Therefore, these exceptions—more imaginary than real, since they exist on political lines only—confirm our proposition. Even in Great Britain, we are assured by the highest authorities that there is land enough to sustain all its population if applied to the production of food and cultivated to the height of its capacity. "But Great Britain," under capitalist management, "prefers to make cloth and build ships; to practise landscape gardening, and hold game preserves; to grow mutton in Australia; fence in the mountain parks of Colorado and Wyoming for beef production, and establish great granaries in Dakota."

As to raiment, in the present condition of manufacturing industry, the possibilities of production are not more limited than in the matter of food. The scarcity of raw material could alone curtail its supply. But what are the facts? Wool, flax, cotton, and other textiles are grown in abundance, and their production might be multiplied indefinitely. Even to-day there is an enormous waste. As much flax as is grown in Russia is burned on the ground in our Western States, where it is cultivated for the seed only. Our wool product increased sixfold in twenty-five years, and it is generally admitted that the repeal of the Customs duty on foreign wool, by stimulating "to excess" its production in foreign countries, would very soon result in doubling that of Mexico, South America, and Australia. From which it is seen that abundance, not scarcity, is deemed under our present system the danger of the time, even to the extent of preventing it by legislation.

As to shelter, its possibilities are more infinite still than those of food and raiment. There is room, to be sure, on this continent for one dwelling house to each family. Millions of acres of virgin forest are every year ruthlessly burned down by the Pioneer. And where is the end of stone, or of clay, or of any material which enters into the construction of a building? In their transformation and transportation nothing is required but labor, the very surplus of which constitutes the problem of the age.

Why is it, then, that in such a world and at a time when human ingenuity has enslaved the forces of nature, men have to go hungry, ill-clad and homeless?

This question, we know, has become common-place from its frequency, and sounds declamatory to those who will not answer it. But millions of people are asking it to-day, and the thunder of discontent which fills the air cannot be mistaken for the ravings of demagogues.

"Why is it," asks the farm laborer, "that I, who can raise more wheat in a year than I can consume in my lifetime, am perforce without bread?" "Why is it," asks the factory operative, "that I, who can weave more cloth in a day than I can ever wear in years, am shivering in rags?" "Why is it," asks the mason, "that I, who can build palaces, have no roof over my head?"

We must answer: Poverty cannot be justified by Malthusian sophistry. Nor shall it be perpetuated under freedom. In a civilization so fully equipped with the instruments of wealth, no one need be poor who works; no one need be a pauper who can work.

To work is the natural law, and the natural right also. Access to land, access, also, to the instruments of production through which natural forces are used, such is to-day the demand of labor.

Land and machinery, I say; for in the present state of industry they cannot be separated. Not only is the machine as necessary to the mechanic as the land is to the ploughman, but, in this age of mechanical progress, the time is fast coming when the land will be of no more use without the most powerful agricultural implements, than the raw products of land itself can be to-day without the steam-engine and the gigantic tools which it sets in motion.

It is already so, in fact, on large areas of this continent. Four hundred laborers in Dakota, harnessed to the most improved implements and driven by a task-master with the whip of hunger, produce as many bushels of cereals as do five thousand hard-working French peasants in the rich plains of Beauce and Brie. Not only throughout the great wheat-growing regions of the Northwest and on the "bonanza farms" of California, but in the older States of the East is machinery used on the land to such an extent as to produce upon the agricultural population effects in every respect similar to those of the factory system upon the mechanical and manufacturing occupations. The small farmer is driven out by competition, drops into the ranks of the wage workers, and finally swells the army of the unemployed.

Take, for instance, the New England States, whose rocky and uneven soil does not admit of the use of machinery to the same extent as in more favored sections: We find that in the twenty years, 1860-1880, the area of improved land increased nearly 1,000,000 acres, but the number of farmers decreased 23,000, whereas the number of farm laborers increased 24,000.

Again, take the State of New York, whose central plateaus are well adapted to the use of machinery. We find that in the same period the area of improved land increased nearly 3,400,000 acres, but the number of farmers actually decreased 10,000, whereas the number of farm laborers increased 13,000.

Mark that in New York, as in the New England States, despite the increase in the area improved, the land did not sustain a greater agricultural population in 1880 than in 1860, at least to any appreciable extent; but a comparatively large number of farmers had disappeared, and had been supplanted by a corresponding number of farm laborers.

Imagine, for a moment, in our highly developed system of production and exchange, a farmer in Dakota, with no other implement than a spade, and a spinner in Massachusetts, with no other machine than the distaff of her great grandmother: Will either of them earn his salt? Will they live as well as their ancestors did with those same primitive tools? Of course not. And why? Simply because in the days of their ancestors the product of the spade exchanged for the product of the distaff, whereas in our days, the product of the spade is too insignificant to be accounted of any value in exchange for the product of the power-loom, and the product of the distaff is likewise too insignificant to be accounted of any value in exchange for the product of the steam plow.

Undoubtedly, in the chronological order of requirements, land was the first; for the primitive man, for the savage, and even for the masses of the people up to a comparatively recent epoch, it was, indeed, the only requirement. To-day, however, thanks to invention and commerce, machinery has become another requirement. It is of no importance, except historically, that this came last, or whence it came. It is sufficient economically that both exist and are indispensable to a state of industrial civilization. When two things are indispensable to produce a certain result, it were idle to ask which of the two is most necessary.

We thus see at a glance how mistaken those are who demand free access to only one of the two requirements. Granting that land is the foundation of the productive fabric, and machinery the first story above ground, through which everything must pass before reaching the higher floor, where distribution takes place, it is still evident that free access to the foundation only gives us no access at all to the finished product in the top story, except on such conditions as the capitalistic machinist may deem fit to impose for the right of way through his floor.

As for me, I can no more conceive, logically, of a system in which land would belong to society and machinery to individuals than of a system in which land would belong to individuals and machinery to society. But it is in perfect harmony with a system of private ownership of land—that is, of Nature itself— that the machinery through which the forces of that Nature are used, either to obtain raw materials from the earth, or to work them into finished products, should also be private property. In this system, of course, some individuals own land and some machinery, or more or less of each, according to circumstances. But this is merely a convenient division of functions among members of the same class—the class of those who "have." And this class is very truly mankind by divine right; all such trash as you and I, who "have not," being mere cattle in the eyes of the Lord. True, by the law of gravitation, we belong to the planet; but those who own the planet—land, machinery, and all—own us.

Now, if it is plain to you, as it is plain to me, that the nationalization of land without the nationalization of the instruments through which both the land and its products are made available would not lessen the abject dependence of labor upon private capital, how much plainer must it be that the so-called single land tax scheme can afford no relief whatever to the working class. This scheme, as you probably know, was first brought out in the last century by a school of French economists known in history as the Physiocrats. It was revived some fifty years ago by John Stuart Mill in his "Principles of Political Economy," and was subsequently advocated by Herbert Spencer in his "Social Statics." All those writers, however, presented it simply as a more equitable method of taxation, calculated to improve the opportunities of capital, by lightening that portion of the public burden which commerce and manufacturing industry had to bear. True, upon the assumption that in the present system of production the interests of capital and labor are identical, or, at least, reciprocal, they contended that in so far as commerce and manufacture would be directly encouraged by the removal of taxes upon their profits, the laboring class would be indirectly benefited also; in other words, that a portion of the increased profits of capital would go to labor in the form of increased wages. We now know what to think of this assumption. But it remained for Henry George to contend that the single land-tax would actually make land the "property of the people in common," and, according to this new miracle worker, by a mere transfer of burdens from the shoulders of one category of capitalists upon the shoulders of another category of capitalists, the shackles of labor would magically fall to the ground.

I cannot undertake to review here the single land tax theory in its various aspects, and the George movement in its various phases. For the purpose of this lecture it is enough to say that, taking into consideration the discontent of the working class, the extensive organization of Labor, the Irish question, and all other circumstances eminently favorable to such a movement, Henry George could never have produced the commotion he did as the recognized leader of it had he not constantly proclaimed that "land was of right the property of the people in common." To-day his false theory of taxation is dead beyond resurrection, but the eternal truth upon which he ventured to rest it is deeply rooted in the popular mind.

Nor was it then the first time that this great truth, with its power of electrifying the disinherited, had been proclaimed in America. A rapid glance backward will prove instructive. In 1852 a new party, small in numbers, strong in purpose, appeared in the field of American politics. On its banner was inscribed: "Free soil, free speech, free labor, free men." Its platform declared: 1, that "the government has no more power to make a slave than to make a king"; 2, that, "as the use of the soil is indispensable to life, the right of all men to the soil is as sacred as the right to life itself"; 3, that "the public domain should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the people." Unfortunately the Free Soilers did not stop there, but, with a lack of consistency which politicians are apt to display in their eagerness to gain public support by concessions to individual selfishness, they broke the force of their third principle by the nullifying proviso, that the public lands "should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers." They did not see, nor did they want to see, that it was no better to give land away to individuals than to sell it, and that by granting the public domain to the landless of their time they were denying it to the landless of the future.

This Free Soil Party was shortlived, but its influence on the destinies of the country was incalculable. Of the three declarations just quoted the first led, nine years later, to the greatest civil war of modern times and the final abolition of chattel slavery; the second is a live issue of the present day; the third, with its unfortunate proviso, eventuated in the Homestead Law, which shows a conception of the right of man to land far more limited htan that entertained by the Free Soilers.

In the first place, this law, intended on its face to give land in small quantities to the landless provided they should, by the improvement and use of it, benefit not themselves alone but the community at large, finally gives it to them absolutely and unconditionally. In the second place it ignored the cardinal principle of the Free Soilers, that the public lands should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations; it contains no provision against such special sales or grants.

The people, always short-sighted, could no more realize the immense value of their vast domain than imagine the possibility of its exhaustion. Capital, always far-sighted, immediately perceived its opportunity and determined to improve it.

And so it happened that in the ten years which followed the passage of the Homestead law, only 220,000 people availed themselves of its provisions to the extent of 25,000,000 acres, whereas five corporations, by bribery on a scale of unprecedented magnitude in the history of nations, obtained free gifts from Congress to the amount of 181,000,000 acres.

In 1872 the national sentiment rebelled at last against the creation of corporate empires within the republic. A halt was called. Railway potentates must for a time be satisfied with the plunder they had heretofore secured. Its value was officially estimated in 1883 at the ridiculously small figure of $391,000,000. Considering the rapid advance of land values along the subsidized lines, the discovery of untold mineral wealth throughout the vast domain alienated to them, the growth of cities on tracts which they own or control, it is safe to say that the actual value of the original grants, exclusive of improvements, will soon have to be computed in billions of dollars.

But capital, checked in one direction, started in another. The Homestead Law was apparently intended to supplant the Pre-emption Act, which was never repealed. This, with the Desert Land Act and the Timber Culture Law, was found a most convenient instrument of land grabbing. In 1883 every acre of purely arable land, with the exception of a few undesirable tracts, had been monopolized by domestic and foreign speculators, while the commanding positions in the so-called "desert region" had also been secured by them. There they stand, like the robber barons of the middle ages, ready to swoop down upon what remains of our once "inexhaustible" public domain.

And they will soon get it. Then the landless, penniless also, driven from the field by the steam plow, driven from the factory by the labor-saving contrivances, driven from the roads and the streets by the shotgun and the baton, will find his lot a hard one indeed. He will much resemble the poor, degraded white people of the South that Fitzhugh, of Virginia—that bold leader of Southern thought—proposed to enslave for their own salvation. Then a modern philosopher, representing, like Fitzhugh, the "educated classes" of his time and country, will exclaim, as he did: "Slavery, black or white, is right and necessary. Two hundred years of liberty have made white laborers a pauper banditta. Free society has failed, and that which is not free must be substituted."

Aye, all that must come to pass, if we permit it.

Perchance, however, we may not permit it. Whatever legislators and officials may do under a government saturated with the corruption of our economic system, the tendency of public opinion is already now sufficiently apparent. When the people will see clearly what is their own—and thousands see it to-day who will, I have no doubt, soon organize to demand it—then restitution shall have to be made.

Until then, of course, we must expect that the government in all its branches will be impregnated with the stench of bribery; that men, who can by their votes, transfer immense wealth and privileges from their rightful owners to rich thieves, will demand their share of the plunder; that other men, having in charge the administration of our executive departments, will for a similar consideration deliver what the first have voted away, and that, sinking to the level of the surrounding immorality, a befouled bench will complacently whitewash all those turpitudes and eagerly confirm all those spoliations!

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

Don't write on both sides of the sheet;
Don't write on tissue paper;
Don't write with pencil;
Don't write with a broom-stick, if a tooth-pick is handy, pens preferred;
Don't crowd your lines;
Don't begin at the uppermost edge of the sheet;
Don't abbreviate;
Don't forget to give your P. O. address and date of letter;
Don't forget to give name and date of paper when sending clippings;
Don't write your signature as tho' you wished to remain incognito;
Don't write proper names so as to insure the chances of their being misspelled;
Don't write on sheets of uneven size;
Don't take this ill.

Debating Socialism in West Superior.

To THE PEOPLE.—The debate between Comrade Kriz and Joe Konkel, the Editor of the "Clarion," that was to come up at the Steel Plant, as reported in THE PEOPLE of Dec. 17, took place at the Agan Hall under the auspices of Section W. Superior.

Comrade Kriz referred to the census reports taken from 1850 to 1890 as to the proportion of the population and the wealth owned by the capitalist, middle and laboring classes. Then he passed on to the class rule. He showed how during the feudal system, when land was the dominant factor in production, the class that owned the land owned also society; just as at the present era, the capitalist class being in control of the tools and machinery, without which we are denied access to nature, is also in control of society. He concluded pointedly that the only way to remove the existing evils was to wrest the means of production and distribution from the class that now usurps them and use them collectively. He likewise pointed out the inevitableness of the Socialist Republic, constructed upon the ruins of the present self-destroying system.

Socialism, the material for which is furnished by modern society, the comrade showed was no more a dream, a Utopia, as Mr. Konkel asserted, but a practical conception. The spectre of fear that is penetrating through the ranks of our opponents does not rise in their midst, because they consider Socialism to be impracticable, but because it might work and make them work, too.

Mr. Konkel suggested the impossibility of the laboring class enjoying the full fruit of its labor, owing to the large aggregation of capital necessary in improvements, as machinery, iron rails, ties, etc., which the laborers cannot and must not consume; therefore, he thought, he would prefer income tax to Socialism. (I must confess that neither I nor the other comrades comprehend what he was driving at.) To this our comrade answered sarcastically: "The idea of a savage encumbering his body with all of his property—whether it consists of steel, iron or gold and silver!" Admitted that capital will remain invested in improvements, he pointed out that such improvements would not, as now, be the property of private individuals whereby they would be enabled to lead the life of parasites upon the working class, but such improvements being accessible to the workers, operated for use, not for private profit, would be tantamount to so much property held by the workers.

As to the income tax, he said that the system was now practically in practice, only in a one-sided way: the capitalists were taking the laborers' income by keeping from them three-fourths of what they produced, and would continue to do so until the laboring class got control of the government and carried out this system of taxation by confiscating all the wealth that was robbed from it. And, as Socialists believed in doing away with waste of labor, Socialism would set free to work a great number of spies and other capitalist menials who are now in favor of the capitalists and the present system of "income tax."

Mr. Konkel was waterlogged by our comrade's cannonade. When it was his turn he wept woefully for the "poor widow" and "orphan" and even a "great portion of the laboring and middle classes," whose property the outrageous Socialists intend to "confiscate."

Comrade Kriz closed the debate, reassuring the audience that the Socialists are not so foolish as to meddle with things that are of little or no value in production. However, by the time the Socialists got control, there would not be much property left in the hands of the middle and laboring classes; the capitalists would have gobbled it all up.

When a standing vote was taken, the audience rose as a body for the S. L. P. with the exception of two, who voted for income tax, silver and a whole mash of confusion. The audience was estimated over 400. The straight-out Socialism of the S. L. P. once more proved itself the most winning and practical thing for the masses.

MAX SILVERMAN.

West Superior, Jan. 1, 1900.

We Don't Know, Who Can Tell?

To THE PEOPLE.—Was there, at any time, among the members of the now defunct American Railway Union, a member of prominence or officer of the name of Thomas Burke; by occupation a painter.

Was not there a member of the Executive Committee by the name of Thomas Burke?

If there was, what do you know of his record, either during his connection with the A. R. U. or subsequently?

I have been told that Burke now draws a salary from a railroad company, independent of the salary he gets for painting cars, but it is not clear that the two Burkes are the same people.

Upon a former occasion THE PEOPLE furnished me information that benefited me, and the Party as well. Be as good this time.

J. H. S.

De Soto, Mo., Dec. 28.

Address to the Fifth Ward, Chicago.

To THE PEOPLE.—In 1894 the Socialists of Chicago deemed it wise to unite forces with the Populist party and thus make "headway" for Socialism "more rapid." The effect upon the movement was pointed out in advance by a few of the stalwarts here and by nearly all of our Eastern comrades, who had gone through many similar experiences, proving that none but an uncompromising attitude can and will serve the cause of Socialism.

All these pleas and warnings were in vain. The advocates of "broadness" and "union of forces" had their way. The result was what had been foretold: instead of clearing the minds of the workers, it made them more confused.

The only good realized was that the militant Socialists became firm-set against all appeals to "broadness," "union of forces," etc. So it came that in 1896, the Fifth Ward Branch of the S. L. P. did not heed the plea for broadness, repeated that year by the "radical Populists," who placed in nomination Ed. Conors as aldermanic candidate. The claim of this gentleman's "friendship for the working class" was based on his holding an honorary membership card in the Plumbers' Union (he is a boss plumber now), and last not least on his declaration, "I am a Socialist, too."

The members of the Fifth Ward, S. L. P. branch, were not to be taken in by such broad assertions; they knew that Ed. Conors was but one of the many of "the get there" stripe. For a confirmation of this we had not long to wait. Just as soon as he found out (election returns) that the Populists could not land him in the desired place, he took another step in "broadness" and "union of forces." "Broadness" this time consisted in joining the Republican party; "union of forces" was to consist in his former constituency getting out of business on its own line and unifying itself with the Reps. Needless to say that the Republicans received him with open arms, they were badly in need of such a "friend to organized labor." The Ward had gone for years Democratic; a bunco steerer was needed to drive the unthinking workers into the Republican camp. With this object in view the Republican politicians nominated him in 1898 for Alderman—and he got elected, but, mind you, not to serve the people, oh no, to serve the Republican party. Just watch:

All hopes entertained by the workingmen that he would do a little something anyhow for them came to naught. He did absolutely nothing for the downtrodden. He proved just as bad, if not worse, than his predecessors.

This is an object lesson to study. It is the certain, all-round reward of "broadness" and of "union of forces," to wit, the schemers "get there," the dupes "get left."

As long as workingmen will neglect to do their own thinking and can be caught with taffy, so long will they be used as they are at present by the capitalists and their henchmen.

To the workingmen of the Fifth Ward and the Fifth Ward Branch of Section Chicago, S. L. P., I urge to read this paper; to subscribe for it. It is YOUR paper, being the truthful mouthpiece of the entire working class.

The only party through which the workers can secure their freedom is the Socialist Labor Party. Join it, agitate for it; work for it and vote for its candidates.

We may not close without cautioning you against the wolves in sheeps' clothes, fellows who are the hirelings of capitalism seeking to entrap you again next election.

The Socialist Labor Party has established headquarters at 3128 Wentworth avenue. Its meetings are every Sunday, 3 P. M., and Mondays at 8 P. M. Books, literature and information can be gotten.

FIFTH WARD BRANCH, SECTION CHICAGO, S. L. P.

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 31.

LETTER-BOX.

Off-hand Answers to Correspondents.

(No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.)

C. B. S., WORCESTER, MASS.—You misapprehend the significance in history of the "Free Thinkers." Bob Ingersoll and his fellow Atheists of the present generation can in no way be named in the same breath with Voltaire and the French Encyclopedists, except to contrast the two, showing the modern crew to be false imitators.

Voltaire, together with the freethinkers of his time, were the usherers in of a revolution—the capitalist or anti-feudal revolution; Ingersoll and his set are back-numbers, who do not understand what their forerunners had done. Thus we see the Voltairians inspired by a feeling of humanity, inevitable to their revolutionary attitude; while the Ingersolians appear as the upholders of the present system, and correspondingly inhuman. Voltairianism is a monumental feature in history; Ingersolianism is a ridiculous caricature. The former is a historic manifestation that marks a great epoch and deserves study; the latter is a clown manifestation, deserving only passing notice.

S. F. D., SPRINGFIELD, MASS.—Numerous are the instances in which the New Zealand "Hon. Minister of Labour" tries to run down other countries to which immigration is flowing, as stated in last week's editorial. Here is one: A five-line space at the bottom of its 926th page is filled, simply filled, with the following item, which has no connection with the chapter that closed just above, or the one that opens at the head of the next page:

"In New York a woman was discovered disguised as a man shovelling snow with a gang of street labourers. When discharged by the foreman, she cried bitterly and appealed wildly to be allowed to remain. 'I've a sick husband at home,' she said, 'and we are starving.'"

The story is all right and true enough; yet strangely out of place in the unexpected corner where it occurs, and, connected with other instances, suggestive of the purpose.

A. R. E., ST. LOUIS, MO.—Don't make yourself the victim of a phrase. "Not men, but principles" is a wise saw, but like all others, may be rendered ridiculous; and you are doing your best to do so. What would become of principles if not enforced by men? A cannon ball is first class to knock an enemy down with; yet, do you imagine that the Boers, for instance, would go wild with delight over a cannon ball located in your St. Louis, thousands of miles away from their reach, where it cannot be utilized by them? The best of principles if not upheld by proper men are as useless to the purpose as that cannon ball in St. Louis would be to the Boers to-day.

F. C. W., WEB CITY, MO.—1. The leading German Socialist papers in the country are the Buffalo, N. Y., "Arbeiterzeitung," and the Cleveland, O., "Volksfreund."

2. There is no Spanish Socialist paper in the country.

3. The Spanish Socialist papers are: "El Porvenir Social," San Juan, Puerto Rico; "La Vanguardia," Buenos Aires, Argentine Rep.; and "El Socialista," Madrid, Spain. They are all about abreast of each other.

4. Subscriptions for London "Justice," 37A Clarkenwell Green E. C., London, 6s. 6d. for a year.

S. F. L., CHICAGO, ILL.—The DAILY PEOPLE is to be set up for the purpose of urging on the day when the Capitalist Class will be overthrown and the Working Class emancipated. You may, accordingly, rest assured that no device whose effect is to perpetuate the Capitalist Class, whether that device is labelled "unionism" or what else, will be allowed to stand in the way. It will be hewn through.

T. D., NEW BEDFORD, MASS.—The American Revolution did not establish manhood suffrage. That is one of the delusions of those who do not understand the history they read. Manhood suffrage was not established until the beginning of this century. Read the article on Trusts in the May Day number. You will there find the deep significance of the fact herein stated.

J. H. S., SAN DIEGO, CAL.—Have been collecting for you the papers you asked for, as promised last week; but since answering you, your letter has been mislaid. Send on your name and address again.

S. D., NEW YORK.—Certainly. Moreover, Mr. Ben Hanford is not the only member of the Party who withdrew by letter, and none thought of demanding publication for his letter of withdrawal. But Mr. Hanford has so sublime an opinion of himself and his letter that he thought an exception should be made in his and its instance. He evidently imagined that the calender of the S. L. P. would be changed by his letter, that letter becoming THE EPOCH; so that, after it was written, chronology would be dated from or to that epoch-marking event, viz.: "The last S. L. P. National Convention was held 3 years, 1 month and 2 weeks before HANFORD'S LETTER"; or, "The return of Comrade Hickey to New York occurred 4 months and 1 week after HANFORD'S LETTER";—a sort of ANNO DOMINI affair. These people are not quite sane.

C. M. M., CLEVELAND, O.—Every party that claims to be Socialist, outside of the Socialist Labor Party, is bound eventually, if not sooner, to go on the rocks. The S. L. P. is bound to be the residuary legatee of all such parties, whatever honest elements such other parties may have drawn unto themselves coming over to us,—just the same as the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is bound to be the residuary legatee of all the Pure and Simple Trade Unions.

"CURIOUS," HOLYOKE, MASS.—Your question, What definite course should the Socialist Legislator pursue in the matter of corporate franchise generally? proceeds from the idea that a definite answer could be given; and that idea in turn proceeds from a mental position that ignores the fact that Legislative conduct is to Platform Declarations of Principles what rigid scientific teaching in a Medical College is to a Medical Clinic, or what the science of navigation, taught ashore, is to practical navigation on the seas. In a Medical College, the fundamental principles are taught in all their scientific purity and rigidity; in the clinic these principles are applied subject to the thousand and one modifications made imperative by modifying circumstances. In the schools on navigation the naked principles are taught; at sea, the course of the navigator is affected by the currents, the winds, the icebergs, the derelicts, etc., that he encounters. So with the Socialist Legislator. A hard and fast course cannot be laid down before him. His platform must furnish him with the never-to-be-lost-sight-of loadstar to direct his course by; but what exactly that course will be depends upon too many contingencies to be foreseen. There will be no more delicate ground for the Socialist to tread than the Halls of Legislation. The highest grade of judgment will be requisite.

O. R. E., DENVER, COLO.—When the "Battle of July 10th" was fought, and the "Volkszeitung" attempt to capture and crush the Party was foiled, there were in existence two English S. L. P. papers outside of this city: the Chicago "Workers' Call" and the San Francisco "Class Struggle"; they both went over to the "Volkszeitung" and were speedily joined by a third paper in this city that pirated the name of the Party's organ—THE PEOPLE. Within three months from that date all three died. You may occasionally see a hysterical copy of the three; but that does not affect the fact that they are dead; chickens, when their heads are cut off, often rush around for a while with unwonted vigor, but such conduct is not a sign of life; it is but spasms of death before they drop down for good and all. So with the present "issues" of the three papers in question.

W. T., PROVIDENCE, R. I.—An organization that sets itself the great task that the S. L. P. has set itself to, cannot tolerate people, however good and lovely they may otherwise be, whose understanding of the Social Question is so amateurish that they are full of schemes to "reform Society behind its back," as Marx so wittily described the efforts of such elements. Read "The Eighteenth Brumaire," it will clarify you on those points.

G. C. W., SACRAMENTO, CAL.—1. The Labor News Company is the property of the Party.

2. The "Abendblatt" (Jewish) has, by a Party vote, together with the consent of the Abendblatt's Publishing Association, been made Party property.

3. By a Party vote, THE PEOPLE, always the property of the Party, but formerly issued by the "Volkszeitung" Association, is now issued by the Party.

4. The DAILY PEOPLE will be Party property and will be published, as THE PEOPLE now is, directly by the Party, and even more so. At present the type-setting and printing plant through which THE PEOPLE is issued are the private property of a publishing concern, hired by the Party to do the work. The whole plant, requisite to publish the DAILY PEOPLE, will be Party property.

5. The safety of all this property will depend wholly upon the "tolerance" or the "intolerance" of the Party membership. If the Party membership is "tolerant," tolerating through a false sense of democracy, people who should not be in, then the property will be unsafe; if the Party membership is properly "intolerant," demanding unqualified straightness from its composing units, the property will be perfectly safe.

T. L. N., LOS ANGELES, CAL.—No notice has been hitherto taken of the Molineux poison case in these columns because it does not throw any light on the Social Question, excepting, possibly, the disgraceful conduct of the "experts," and that is too remote.

J. W. F., UNCASVILLE, CT.—The fact that, at the last presidential election, one-half of the middle class arrayed itself under the banner of "16 to 1" and tried to return to the "Money of our Daddies," in other words, was so brainless as not to understand what money means and to confuse effect for cause,—that fact disposes of your claim about the "brainless" of that class.

The fact that, at the same occasion, the other half of the middle class, in order to save their "little bank deposits" and their "insurances," bent under the crack of the whip of the Gold Bugs, deserted the Bryan party that their class interests had set up, and slavishly obeyed the order of their industrial oppressors to vote for McKinley—that fact disposes of your claim about the "anti-slavishness" of that class.

T. T. F. T., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—The recent crash here in New York is well explained in Comrade A. S. Brown's article in this issue, from which it would appear that that crash was exceptional in its nature. But, as indicated by him, such "exceptionalities" may recur at any moment; moreover, an unexceptional crash is shaping itself. Get ready.

W. K., HAVERHILL, MASS.—If anyone tells you THE PEOPLE is going to die, just laugh in his face, as loud as you know how. Back of THE PEOPLE stands the Socialist Labor Party. Anything and everything else, and much of it will, die; what the S. L. P. undertakes will stand and prosper.

I. A. R., DAVENPORT, IA., AND THE MANY OTHERS WHOM THE ANSWER CONCERNS.—1. The Court has not yet rendered a decision on the "Volkszeitung" application to punish several Party officers for "Contempt of Court." When a decision is rendered, if ever one is rendered, it will be announced in these columns.

2. There is not one chance in a million of the decision, if ever rendered, being in favor of the petition to punish for contempt. The petition is preposterous and hollow.

3. Even if adverse to the Party officers in question, the decision does not affect THE PEOPLE, because the Party is the owner and publisher of the paper, and the Party was never sued. All that the injunction does is to hamper the action of the Party officers enjoined, who, of course, don't need to expose themselves uselessly by violating the injunction issued against them individually, seeing the Party has enough unenjoined officers to conduct its work.

Now, all of you wait a little, patiently. In the meantime chew upon this: there are no shysters in the Party. It will commit no blunder; it will be on top every time.

HON. SECRETARY IRISH SOCIALIST REPUBLICAN PARTY, DUBLIN, IRELAND.—That very interesting matter unfortunately reached here too late for this special edition; will go in the next number.

H. T., LONDON, ENG.—That "Trust" article in the MAY DAY PEOPLE was not one of a series in the "Independent." It was one of a Symposium on Trusts, issued in one number, each article being written by a different man from a different view point. The one published in these columns was the article written from the Socialist view point.

H. H. S., LONDON, ENG.—THE PEOPLE meddles not with the conduct of the Socialist parties in Europe. It touches upon them only in the sense physicians study comparative anatomy. But this much allow yourself to be told: this office keeps better posted on European events than, judging from Socialist papers in Europe, they keep themselves posted on American events. We think our European comrades make a great mistake in this respect. Some of their judgments about America are simply side-splitting. The "Mouvement Socialiste" of Paris, for instance, spoke recently and very soberly of "a grand Socialist Movement in America, headed by Mr. Samuel Gompers" ! ! ! Do you see the joke? Gompers' movement (as Voltaire said of the Holy Roman Empire that it was neither Holy nor Roman) is neither Socialist nor Grand; and as to himself he is a mere Labor Fakir.

C. B., SYRACUSE, N. Y.—The statement, made last week, that there are "more shots to follow the one fired last week into the 'Volkszeitung'" was not meant to foreshadow private suits, as you imagine; it was meant to foreshadow other measures of somewhat similar order than the one of last week, and which will come in due order. This, of course, does not mean that private actions will not be forthcoming. One, for instance, was started this week by Comrade Brauchman, of Section New York. Moneys, which he held as the Treasurer of the 28th Assembly District, S. L. P., he refused to deliver to a fraudulent concern that took the name of the "28th A. D., S. L. P." and he accounted for them to the bona fide S. L. P. organization. For not yielding to the demands of frauds, the "Volkszeitung" published a report about him, calling him an "embezzler." Think of it; that concern, whose "party" has proved itself most attractive to embezzlers, imported and domestic, dares libel an honorable man that way! Of course, Comrade Brauchman brought an action for libel against the concern. They will be made to learn that they are not in Timbooctoo.

T. I. T., BUFFALO, N. Y.—"Tyrannous?" Why, of course, tyrannous. Know you that only now? The S. L. P. has all the "tyranny" o' Truth. You can't coax it into side-shows; nor can you soften the hardness of its hammer.

T. O. M., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The S. L. P. can look on, unconcerned, at the railings of the freaks and lightweights; such jibes could only hurt freak and lightweight movements:

The Poetaster may be harmed enough,
But Criticasters cannot crush a bard.

O. S., COLUMBUS, O.—What causes business to revive after a panic are two things:

1. The goods that have glutted the markets and brought on stoppage of work have finally, somehow or other, been disposed of.

2. The small concerns and the "big ones" who could not stand the strain, and whose failures brought on lack of confidence, having been swept away, confidence (however misplaced) revives.

A. S., NEW YORK.—Kindly repeat your question. The Post-Office mark on the card renders it illegible.

K. E. R., NEWARK, N. J.—Did you ever hear the story of the accommodating man who did not know a note from another, and who being asked whether he could play the violine, said, taking one up: "No; but I'll try?" This answers your wild imagining that by merely attending meetings you will learn parliamentary practice. What you will learn in that way, unless you sit down at the same time and study some elemental manual on the subject, is to acquire and get confirmed in all sorts of absurd practices, that will hamper you at meetings, and that, the first time you come in contact with one who took a better course than you, will simply throw you off your feet. Practice is all right, only when it is good.

M. K., YONKERS, N. Y.—No date can be given at present.

S. S., NEW YORK.—Why, of course, the "Yiddish Volkszeitung" is dead. If you see anything bearing that name and stalking about, it is but a case of Poe's Egyptian mummy regalvanized for experimental and temporary purposes.

G. A., NEWARK, N. J.—Shall keep the corrections in mind, case occasion offer. But, incidentally, take note that such mistakes are invited by people who fail to write proper names with the greatest of clearness. May all other correspondents learn the lesson here indicated.

A. F. of L. BUBBLE.

Prick it, and Gompers' Wind and Fraud Sizzle Cut.

By B. F. KEINARD, Phoenixville, Pa.

> "Now what I want is facts."—Boz.

PHOENIXVILLE, Pa., Dec. 19.—The great annual powow of the A. F. of L. medicine men is on again in Detroit.

Observing the wild claims of A. F. of L. membership reaching as high as 1,500,000, and such claims having been repeatedly made in the past by Gompers & Co., on occasions when there was not much chance of being brought to book, I purpose to puncture this bubble once and for all, and show some of the methods of this concern, in a way no "bluff" can answer.

This article will show:

I.—That the A. F. of L., judged by its own convention reports, contains but a quarter of a million members against Gompers & Co.'s claims, made for years of a million and a million and a half.

II.—That much of even that apparent quarter of a million is known to Gompers & Co. to be bogus and afforded special protection by them.

As to the Quarter of a Million.

Taking the latest report published up to this writing, that of the Kansas City '98 Convention, let us begin by ascertaining the membership as indicated by the votes in convention allotted to the affiliated organizations. These votes (some of which had no delegates present to cast them) amounted altogether to 2,570, from which, however, must be deducted 24 (3 being cast by "fraternal" delegates, and 21 coming from the State and city central bodies, and representing no additional membership), leaving 2,546 votes representative of the rank and file. Each vote is supposed to represent 100 members (Constitution, Art. IV.), multiplying which number by 2,546, we get 254,600 as the total A. F. of L. membership, in place of Sammy's million or million and a half.

Again, It is said "money talks"; therefore, let us get the utterance of the 1898 financial report on the question of membership. This shows a total per capita tax for 1898 of $12,705.31.

In analyzing this, it must be remembered that there are FOUR DIFFERENT rates of per capita which converge to produce this total (viz., $^1/_2$c per member monthly from locals attached to nationals and internationals, 2c. from unattached locals, and a $10 annual tax from State federations and city and central labor bodies, with $10 extra when represented in convention—(See Constitution for 1898, Art. XI.) The "Go" gang very carefully omit an itemized statement, for reasons that are self-evident. Even if this total were made up entirely from $^1/_2$c. tax—the most favorable view for Gompers—it would indicate a membership of only 317,633—quite a little way off from a million. But when we test it with the four rates COMBINED, the membership shrivels to merely 241,152, admitting even then that the total tax in question contains no money paid in by politicians, capitalists and fakirs on bogus organizations!

Take a look at it.

First, the moneys paid in by the State and city, purely central bodies, (at the two rates, $10 each annually and $10 extra if represented in convention), come mainly from membership that is already once accounted for under the $^1/_2$c. and 2c. rates. The whole amount contributed by such central bodies and deducted from the total of all four sources for the year gives a remainder representing, with sufficient approximacy, the $^1/_2$c. and 2c. rates, the only rates properly indicative of membership. The number of such central bodies in 1898, according to Gompers' own report, was 92; of these 21 were represented in convention, making their total dues for that year $1,130. Subtracting this amount from 12,705.31 gives $11,575.31 as the total derived from the $^1/_2$c. and 2c. taxes.

Next we want the proportions in which this last sum is divided between the two rates. No trouble about that. According to Gompers' own figures, there were in 1898, 10,500 locals attached to nationals and internationals (they pay $^1/_2$c.), and 424 unattached locals (they pay 2c.), or about 24 times as many of the former class as of the latter. This is their relative numerical strength. But, inasmuch as the attached locals pay only $^1/_4$ as much dues per member as the unattached, their total dues are only four times the total of the unattached. Dividing $11,575.31 according to this ratio, we get $9,260.25 as the total collected at $^1/_2$c. monthly and $2,315.06 collected at the 2c. rate, from which there appears a "grand" total of only 241,152 as the entire membership of the "great" A. F. of L.!

And then I make no allowance for the money paid in upon the paper organizations, a classic example of which will be given later.

A word may here be added relative to the reported increase of per capita from $12,705.31 in 1898, to $21,407.11 in 1899, a gain of $8,701.80, and the reported increase in membership to the extent of 141,390 (36,500 of which is asserted to be new membership in the federal and purely local unions chartered direct by the A. F. of L.)

The fraud of these figures is revealed by observing that such 36,500 membership of unattached locals (only one-quarter of the total new membership) would itself, if bona fide, pay—at 5 cents per member, the '99 rate for such unions—$21,900, or more than ALL THE NEW AND OLD members in 1899 combined. As a matter of fact, one-half, if not more, of the reported increase of dues is made up by the increased dues on central bodies (not representative of membership nor otherwise represented) and the increase from two to five cents a month that would be paid by the old unattached locals.

A striking fact, revealed more than ever by the '99 report, is the rapid approximation of the total yearly growth of "unattached unions" to that of unions attached to national and international bodies: the "attached union" membership increased in '99, less than three times as fast as the unattached. This emphasizes how the Federation is falling out of touch with the great fundamental occupations of the day, and is more and more driven to conceal its losses under organizations called "federal labor unions," etc., containing odds and ends of occupations, business men, capitalists, politicians, and names on paper,—becoming steadily one single organization of direct, first-charter-issue, instead of a federation of separate organizations. As a matter of fact, of the dues paid by the new unions in '99, five-sixhts was paid by these unattached locals.

A General Bogus.

Take the first on the list of A. F. of L. affiliations, the "American Agents' Association (Int'l)," Chas. H. Sidener, Covington, Ky., "president." This concern, which has for years been allowed large representation in A. F. of L. conventions, and which, according to "President" Sidener in the "Cincinnati Post" of Sept. 19, 1899, has 350,000 members (!), consists, as a matter of fact, of simply Sidener, his wife, an "official organ," and an unlimited supply of crookedness. Sidener is the "president"; his wife, forging a man's name, acts as "Secretary-Treasurer," and the "head-quarters" has had to "kangaroo" five or more times in four years.

A Sidener "convention" would be termed in scientific language a "honey-cooler."

In 1897 it consisted of two men, Sidener and Garrity, a "pal." Many persons will swear to this.

In 1898, according even to Sidener himself, no convention at all was held.

In 1899 a "convention" was held at Muncie, Ind., at which, in spite of Sidener's extravagant claims, there were present only 17 "delegates," as verified by my Muncie correspondent. Of these 12 were Muncie business men, according to Sidener's own publications; the other five were Sidener and "pals" from Covington and Indianapolis (within easy reach of Muncie). The convention exhibited, among others, the following interesting and partly original features, as deduced from Sidener's own "convention" publications:

Three days occupied in transacting fifteen to thirty minutes' total "business";

Treasurer's report, two lines;

No secretary for the convention chosen;

No minutes taken;

No appropriations made for any purpose;

No list of delegates present, nor number given;

No committee on credentials appointed;

No delegate's name appearing anywhere outside of those on the "committees";

Practically all the business, including the "election" of "officers," done by "commitees."

The nominations for "offices" and Sidener's own "election" as "president" were given out to the "Cincinnati Post" by Sidener BEFORE the convention took place.

Mr. Sidener's '99 "convention souvenir" is noteworthy of simultaneously representing the Muncie convention to be both the sixth and the third "international convention." It also gives the date of the first local as organized in August, 1894, while his constitution purports to have been adopted June, 1894 (two months before there was any local), and the "Great Seal" gives the date of organization as June 19, 1892 (or more than two years before there was any local or constitution). It takes a good liar to keep track of his own lies. The "Great Seal," I may remark, is used sparingly and with admirable discrimination.

The "A. A. A." claims to have over forty locals. On April 4, 1899, the Cincinnati Central Labor Council (just across Ohio from Covington, Sidener's "head-quarters"), recorded on its minutes that, after exhaustive investigation into Sidener's alleged 43 locals, but one, a small body of fakirs, existed at Indianapolis. A similar conclusion was reached by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., thro' its detectives, when they investigated the "A. A. A." at the time Sidener tried to "sand-bag" them with a "boycott"; also by my own personal investigations and extensive correspondence.

Sidener is so crooked in his dealings that he has been driven out of city after city,—Findlay, Piqua and Hamilton, in Ohio, and Louisville, Ky. Among his rascalities in Louisville, he unloaded upon the Broom-makers' Union a cut of their label he had had forged, and 115,000 counterfeit labels printed in a "rat" shop, charged the Union double the contract price for these bogus articles, and then compelled the Union to pay for both over again, as he skipped out without paying the platemaker and printer. In Covington he has advertised "scab" goods, made "scab" places "fair" for a cash consideration, organized "unions," composed of capitalists and politicians, used his "official organ" in favor of the C. & O. R. R. Co., and in the fall campaign of 1898, in Covington, sold his paper by exclusive contract, to the Republicans, and at the same time secretly took money from the Democrats, as he had to admit in court. Mr. Sidener, by the way, says he believes in an organization of the "broadest character."

These and other charges are based on numerous documents, affidavits, exhibits and witnesses, and Mr. Sidener is invited at any time to still further establish them by bringing suit for libel.

That Gompers & Co. have for years known of Sidener's crookedness and the bogusness of his organizations appears from the following:

1.—When arrangements were made for a committee from the Canvassers' Protective Association of Cincinnati to meet Gompers in 1896, at Indianapolis, and expose the Sidener organization, Gompers escaped the interview by the old dodge of "sick at his hotel." Later, Combe (spokesman of the said committee) sent Gompers written charges covering Sidener's crooked record in Hamilton which had come under Combe's personal observation; also touching on Sidener's record in Louisville. Gompers never did anything further than merely to acknowledge the receipt of Combe's letter.

2.—Sidener's record in Louisville was brought before Gompers in 1897, at the Nashville ('97) convention by James McGill (Kentucky State organizer for A. F. of L., and President Louisville C. L. U., that had previously expelled Sidener for getting money under false pretences). Mr. Gill says the A. F. of L. has known about Sidener ever since 1897, and he cannot understand why they pay no attention to the matter! ! !

3.—A letter of protest, giving the facts about Sidener and his "A. A. A.," was sent from Covington to the A. F. of L. '98 convention, in Kansas City. Garrity (the "A. A. A." intended delegate), hearing the letter read before it was sent, decided he had better not show up, and he did not (see convention report). Nevertheless no attention was paid to the protest, and the "A. A. A." was allowed representation in said convention. Shortly prior to this same convention, sweeping charges in writing were made direct to Gompers by John A. Blake, President Cincinnati Metal Polishers, and by him repeated and added to about every fortnight for a period of several months. Beyond one letter of acknowledgment, Gompers never paid any attention to them.

4.—The crookedness of Sidener and the swindle of all his three organizations (the "A. A. A.," the Kenton & Campbell Counties T. & L. A., and the Covington Federal Labor League) were thoroughly exposed and emphatically brought before Gompers TWICE OFFICIALLY IN WRITING by the Cincinnati Central Labor Council, in January and April, 1899, the latter time with the most comprehensive charges and the amplest proofs, entirely unrebutted by Sidener. These charges—developed upon the occasion of Sidener's application for charter for his F. L. L. and T. & L. A., by the Cinn. C. L. C. in the course of an investigation devolving upon it according to the constitution and custom, as being the nearest central labor union—not only did Gompers utterly ignore, but he ruthlessly trod them under foot, slapped the C. L. C. in the face, and violated the constitution by not revoking the "A. A. A." charter to Sidener's two other bogus organizations, altho' the charges and protest against them were never lifted; even to this day (in fact, the C. L. C.'s delegate to the Detroit convention, having been instructed to protest Sidener's A. A. A. credentials, and ascertain how it was 8,000 Unionists were turned down in favor of one fakir and his few followers.)

As to the first of these two latter Sidener organizations (the F. L. L.), the C. L. C. showed that said organization, outside of a few "white-washed scabs" and men belonging in other organizations, was composed of business men and politicians, among them some of the very biggest politicians and capitalists in Covington and Cincinnati (list can be furnished).

As to the second (the T. & L. A.), the C. L. C. gave as its reason for refusing endorsement that it was controlled by men of shady reputations, chief among them, Sidener (its secretary, and editor and publisher of its "official organ"), who had been driven, on account of his crookedness, out of city after city, and the 43 alleged locals, of whose American Agents' Association has been found, after exhaustive investigation, to be non-existent, with the exception of a small body of fakirs in Indianapolis. This matter was officially communicated to Gompers, with the proofs, and request that any commission Sidener held from the A. F. of L. be revoked, and the C. L. C. officially notified of such action. (See minutes of April 4th of Cincinnati C. L. C. in official organ, "Cincinnati Chronicle" of April 7th, 1899, and "Cincinnati Building Trades Journal," April ~~10th~~, 1899; also minutes of April 11th, 1899.)

Not only did Gompers, as above noted, entirely disregard the C. L. C. and stand by Sidener to the extent of giving him charters for two more fraudulent organizations in addition to the charter already held for the bogus "A. A. A.," but he still further emphasized his determination to stand by Sidener at all hazards by beating down and refusing a charter to a bona fide organization, the application for which, regularly endorsed, was at the time in his hands, but which organization Gompers and Sidener knew was determined to expose and destroy Sidener's bogus affairs. This was the Covington Federal Labor Union, organized by John A. Blake, President Cincinnati Metal Polishers, and regularly endorsed by the Cincinnati C. L. C., at the same time it refused endorsement to Sidener's "league." Neither Sidener nor Gompers could allow such an organization to be chartered. Sidener's "business" would be destroyed, and Gompers needed Sidener in his "business." Sidener, therefore,—following the voluntary advice of Gompers to do so—applied for a charter for his T. & L. A. (up to this time without charter for about two years), Gompers in the meantime holding up the Blake application, in order to give the T. & L. A. time to get a charter and wear out the Blake organization by delay, so that the T. & L. A., under guise of being the nearest central labor body, could grant endorsement to Sidener's "league," and thereby shut out the Blake organization, if it had not been already worn out by delay. Sidener's application, however, was protested by the Cincinnati C. L. C., and thereupon, Gompers cut the Gordian knot by ignoring the C. L. C., and issuing the charter. The Blake organization had in the meantime withdrawn in disgust after four months' wait, forced upon them without the shadow of an excuse. In the action here described Gompers was not only actuated by the desire to save Sidener, but very probably also by the fact contained in Sidener's recent statement in Covington that GOMPERS DARE NOT REVOKE HIS CHARTER on account of Sidener's knowledge of crooked work in A. F. of L. conventions.

As to what will have been done at the Detroit convention, where several parties were to protest Sidener, I may not be able to tell exactly, but I can surmise pretty nearly, from the fact that Sidener's T. & L. A. decided to send no delegate, and that Sidener, who was to represent his own A. A. A. dared not show up. "Sammy" had a "serious bicycle accident" just before the convention, and was unable to get there until after the matter of credentials had been concluded for another year. This points to a shelving of the matter upon the pretext that absence of some of the parties to the controversy make it impossible to reach a definite decision. Sammy's "bicycle accident," by the way, to people who doubt whether Sammy can ride fast enough to produce an accident, and coming so that he could not reach the convention until after the credential matters had been disposed of, but yet in time for the election of officers, looks like what the Greeks would call a "kuriosus kodinkidinki."

The foregoing analysis unquestionably demonstrates the weakness and the corruption of the A. F. of L. in Gompers' hands. What is the reply to such proofs? Simply the only reply such a guilty concern can make, evasion, avoidance, confession—"you are attacking organized labor"—"organized labor" in this instance, conceding Gompers' own statements to be correct, represents not more than 5 per cent. of the 20,000,000 wage-workers of this country today; and, taking the figures developed by my analysis, too generous to him, that "organized labor" represents, as a matter of fact, scarcely more than one wageworker in every hundred.

Yet we are told we must not get in the way of the A. F. of L., but must organize those trades and callings "not yet organized!"

We will do so; we will organize them all, and soon, with the superb mobility and tremendous intensity of the Socialist Labor Movement.

"We shall have a hand to grasp the
world with,
And a foot to stamp it flat."

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Address........................

P. S.—Contributors will either clip or copy this form of pledge. Only such pledges can be considered as made in good faith as are accompanied by part payment.

The English translation of Karl Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire," that some time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx's picture as frontispiece. No Sicialist even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can aord to be without it. Apply, Labor News Co., 147 E. 23rd st., N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

What Socialism is Not.

Extract of Address Delivered by James Mortensen of Section Lincoln, Nebr., Before the Section, Dec. 10, 1899.

Some people seem to have a fixed idea that the Socialists have a ready-made, cut-and-dried system of society, which will be put in operation so soon as the S. L. P. gets into power. They seem to credit us with almost supernatural powers, thinking us able to "overturn civilization," a civilization which, to our knowledge, history has taken 6,000 years to build up, and no doubt many more thousands of years have elapsed before a man could be found with ribs flexible enough from which could be made a suitable and progressive companion to him. Nay, nay; such is not the programme.

While we claim to be revolutionists in the true sense of the word, I would have it understood that the revolution we talk of is neither "Scarlet" nor "Crimson" in hue; it is colored by the sweat of the human brow; labor added to labor; invention added to invention, evolving from one thing into another; from this other thing into something better; and so forth until a complete revolution has been brought about. To illustrate:

Imagine you see before you the face of a clock; the minute-hand pointing at 12. Slowly and slowly it moves; minute by minute; until an hour, a complete revolution, has been made. Now, let us again look at the face of the clock. To the right of 12 is the word "Capitalism," immediately to the left is the word "Socialism." The evolutionary hand of progress moves slowly and surely away from "Capitalism," till at last it reaches "Socialism." In the beginning of its journey, it seems to move away from "Socialism," yet it is truly constructive in its path; further and further away it moves; on and on it moves, until a point is reached, when the destructive elements begin to dominate over the constructive elements. Then it gets nearer to "Socialism"; opportunities are growing less, combinations are being formed, want and fear of want are staring the people in the face; they are dissatisfied, they think there is something wrong with the clock and want to have it repaired, so they try the different kinds of politicians. The Republicans have a whack at it, and it does not help any. Still the hand of evolution moves, and then they try the Democrats. No better. Some even think that if they could move the hand back to Jefferson's time, that would help; but the hand still moves forward. Others think the clock needs oiling, and they want to put more money into circulation; but oil or no oil, the hand moves on. Others know not, and care less, what is the matter. A very few only will listen to the sound reasonings of scientific Socialism, which is honest enough to tell them that the clock, which is human society, is an organism, and unless we understand the mechanism of the organism, political tinkering will do no good, for the hand of evolution is going to move on and on until the unavoidable will be reached. If it be not Socialism, it will surely be a crash.

A good many, who have acquired a little knowledge of sociology, think that Socialism will be a state of society where all will be equal in the sense of monotonously of one kind. For that reason, they are opposed to Socialism. It is not true. The S. L. P. platform does not say so. We may as well try to raise all the wheat of the world in one field. It has been said that there are not two kernel of sand of exactly the same likeness, nor two blades of grass, much less of human beings. I shall even go so far as to say that if all the Socialists of the world were to give a definition as to what Socialism would be in the year of 2000, there would be as manw different definitions as there are Socialists. It is human nature for each individual to follow those lines to which his particular individuality is adapted, and the Socialist does not propose to change human nature; on the contrary, we propose, by giving free access to the means of production to afford each and all an equal opportunity to develop his own individuality.

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Karl Marx's Commentaries on the German Socialist Fusion Platform of 1875.

By H. SIPMSON, New York.

Engels' Preface.

The manuscript published herewith—the accompanying letter to Bracke[1]) as well as the criticism of the proposed platform—was sent in 1875, shortly before the Gotha fusion congress, to Bracke, to be further communicated to Geib, Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht, and later on to be returned to Marx. Since the Halle convention[2]) put the discussion of the Gotha programme on the Party's order of business, I would consider myself to be guilty of wrongful suppression were I still longer to withhold from the public this important document—perhaps the most important document bearing on this discussion.

But the manuscript has also another significance, and one still more far-reaching. Here, for the first time, is clearly and definitely set forth the attitude of Marx on the course followed by Lassalle since his entrance upon the agitation, both in relation to Lassalle's economic principles and to his tactics.

The relentless rigor with which the proposed platform is analyzed, the inexorableness with which the results arrived at are pronounced and the weak points of the platform exposed—all this can no longer offend now, after fifteen years. Specific Lassallians exist nowadays only in foreign parts, like isolated ruins, and the Gotha platform was given up in Halle by its own makers as altogether inadequate.

Nevertheless, wherever it was not essential to the subject, I have omitted some severe expressions and opinions concerning individuals, and indicated the omissions with ellipses. Marx himself would have done so, had he published the manuscript now. The occasional vehemence of his language was provoked by two circumstances. In the first place, Marx and I were more intimately connected with the German movement than with any other; hence the decidedly backward step evidenced in this platform was particularly calculated to excite us. But in the second place, we were then, hardly two years after the Congress of the International at the Hague, involved in a most severe conflict with Bakunin and his Anarchists, who held us responsible for everything that transpired in the Labor Movement of Germany; we, therefore, had to expect that the secret fatherhood of this platform would also be ascribed to us. These considerations have passed away, and with them has passed the necessity for the passages in question.

Likewise, some passages are merely indicated with ellipses owing to considerations having to do with the press laws. Where a milder expression had to be chosen it is enclosed in brackets. Otherwise, the publication is faithful to the letter.[3])

FREDERICK ENGELS.

London, January 6, 1891.

Marx's Letter to Bracke.

London, May 5, 1875.

Dear Bracke!

After reading them, you will be so kind as to communicate to Geib, Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht, the subjoined commentaries on the fusion platform. I am overworked, and compelled to work beyond the limits prescribed by my physician. It was, therefore, by no means a "pleasure" to me to write such a tape-worm. But it was necessary, so that the Party friends, for whom this communication is intended, may not misinterpret the steps to be taken by me later on . . . .

. . . . It is indispensable, since outside of Germany the notion (altogether erroneous, but fostered by the enemies of our Party) is entertained that we secretly direct from here the movement of the so-called Eisenach Party. For instance, in a recent Russian publication, Bakunin makes me . . . . responsible for all the platform declarations, etc., of that Party . . . .

Aside from this, it is my duty not to recognize, even by a diplomatic silence, a platform that is in my opinion altogether objectionable and demoralizing to the Party.

Every real advance step of the movement is more important than a dozen platforms. If, therefore, it was impossible—and the circumstances of the time did not permit it—to ADVANCE BEYOND the Eisenach platform, then you should have simply concluded an agreement for action against the common enemy. But when you formulate platforms of principles (instead of postponing this work until such time as you have become prepared for it through continued common action), then you establish landmarks by which all the world will gauge the height of the Party movement. The chiefs of the Lassallians came to you because the conditions forced them. Had you declared to them from the outset that you would not enter on any dickering in principles, then they would have been OBLIGED to content themselves with a programme for action, or a plan of organization for common action. Instead of this, you allow them to come armed with credentials; you recognize these credentials as binding; and thus surrender at discretion to those in need of your help. To cap the climax, they meet in convention BEFORE THE COMPROMISE CONGRESS, while our own Party holds its convention POST FESTUM . . . . Everybody knows how pleased the workingmen are with the bare fact of a union, but you are mistaken if you believe that this momentary success is not bought too dearly.

Besides, the platform is good for nothing, even irrespective of the canonization of the Lassalian articles of faith . . . .

With best greetings,

Yours,

KARL MARX.

COMMENTARIES ON THE PLATFORM OF THE GERMAN LABOR PARTY.

Labor and Wealth.

1. "Labor is the source of all wealth and of all civilization, AND SINCE useful labor is possible only in and through society, the product of labor belongs, unabridged and in equal right, to all the members of society."

FIRST PART OF THE PARAGRAPH: "Labor is the source of all wealth and of all civilization."

Labor is NOT THE SOURCE of all wealth. NATURE is just as much the source of use-values (and these, no doubt, form the material elements of wealth) as labor, which is itself only the utterance of a natural force, human labor power. The above phrase is to be found in every child's primer and is correct in so far as it is ASSUMED that labor starts out equipped with the requisite materials and means.

But a Socialist platform should not let such middle class phrases pass, and permit, by silence, the conditions that alone give sense thereto to be suppressed. And in so far as man star is towards Nature, towards the source of all the means and objects of labor in the relation of proprietor; in so far as he treats Nature as belonging to him, his labor does become the source of use-values, hence also of wealth. The capitalists have very good reasons for imputing to labor SUPERNATURAL CREATIVE POWERS. If labor is a requirement of nature, it follows that the man who possesses no property but his labor power must, under all conditions of society and civilization, be the slave of those other men who have made themselves the possessors of the material conditions for labor. He can work only with their permission, hence live only with their permission.

But let us take the sentence as it runs, or rather limps. What should we have expected as the conclusion? Plainly this:

"Since labor is the source of all wealth, no one in society can acquire wealth except as a product of labor. Therefore, if he does not work himself, he lives upon the labor of others, and also acquires his share of civilization at the expense of other people's labor."

Instead of this, another sentence is attached by means of the phrase "AND SINCE," in order to draw a conclusion from this latter sentence, and not from the former.

SECOND PART OF THE PARAGRAPH: "Useful labor is possible only in and through society."

According to the first proposition labor was the source of all wealth and civilization; hence no society was possible without labor. Now we learn, on the contrary, that no "useful" labor is possible without society.

It would have been as sensible to say that only in society can useless, and even publicly injurious labor become a branch of industry, that only in society can men live in idleness, etc., etc.—in short, to copy the whole of Rousseau.

And what is "useful" labor? Plainly, only the labor that produces the desired serviceable effect. A savage—and man is a savage after he has ceased to be an ape—a savage who kills an animal with a stone, who gathers fruits, etc., does "useful" labor.

THIRDLY: THE CONCLUSION: "And since useful labor is possible only in and through society,—the product of labor belongs unabridged, in equal right, to all the members of society."

A beautiful conclusion! If useful labor is possible only in and through society, then the product of labor belongs to society—and to the individual laborer only so much as is not necessary for the maintenance of the "prerequisite" of labor: SOCIETY.

Indeed, this has been the regular claim made by the champions of each succeeding social system. First come the claims of the government and all that hangs thereby, since it is the social organ for the maintenance of the social order; next come the claims of the various sorts of private property, for the various sorts of private property are the foundations of society, etc. It is plain, such hollow phrases can be turned and twisted at will.

The first and the second part of the paragraph can have any sensible connection only in the following form:

"Labor can become the source of wealth and civilization only as social labor," or, what amounts to the same thing, "only in and through society."

This proposition is indisputably correct, for, even if isolated labor (its material condition presupposed) can create use-values, yet it can produce neither wealth nor civilization.

But just as indisputable is this other statement:

"In proportion as labor is being developed socially, and thus becomes the source of wealth and civilization, are also developed poverty and degradation on the side of the laborer, wealth and civilization on the side of the non-laborer."

This is the law of all history up till now. Therefore, instead of talking about "labor" in general and "society" in general, it should have been clearly pointed out how, under present capitalist society, the conditions, material and otherwise, are at last produced, which enable and, indeed, compel the laborers to break down that social doom.

But, in fact, the entire paragraph—faulty both in style and contents—appears here only in order to inscribe the Lassallian catchword of the "unabridged products of labor" as the watchword on the flag of the Party. I will come back later to the "product of labor," the "equal right," etc., as the same thing recurs in somewhat different form.

Monopoly in the Means of Labor.

2. "In present society the means of labor are the monopoly of the capitalist class. The dependence of the working class, flowing from this, is the cause of misery and servitude in all forms."

This proposition is borrowed from the Constitution of the International, but in an "improved" version, which makes it false.

In present society the means of labor are the monopoly of the landlords (the monopoly of land forms even the basis of the monopoly of capital) AND of the capitalists. In the passage referred to the Constitution of the International mentions neither the one nor the other class of monopolists. It speaks of "THE MONOPOLY IN THE MEANS OF LABOR, THAT IS, IN THE SOURCES OF LIFE." The addition, "SOURCES OF LIFE," sufficiently shows that the soil is included under the means of labor.

The "improvement" was made, because Lassalle, for reasons now generally known, attacked the capitalist class ONLY, not the landlords. In England the capitalist is in most cases not even the owner of the soil on which his factory stands.

Distribution and Justice.

3. "The emancipation of labor demands the elevation of the means of labor to the common property of society and the co-operative regulation of the total labor of society together with a just distribution of the product of labor."

By "elevation of the means of labor to common property" is probably meant their "transformation into common property." But this only in passing.

• • •

What is just distribution"?

Do not the capitalists maintain that the distribution now prevailing is "just"? And, in fact, is it not the only "just" distribution on the basis of the present mode of production? Are economic relations regulated by theories of law or do not the legal relations, on the contrary, arise out of the economic relations? Do not the Utopian Socialists also entertain the most variegated notions of what constitutes a "just" distribution?

In order to know what the phrase "just distribution" means here, we must regard this paragraph in connection with the first. This paragraph assumes a state of society in which "the means of labor are common property, and the total social labor is regulated co-operatively"; from the first paragraph we learn that "the product of labor belongs to all the members of society, unabridged and in equal right."

"To all the members of society?" Even to those who do not work? What, then, becomes of "the unabridged product of labor"? Only to the working members of society? What becomes, then, of "the equal right" of all the members of society?

• • •

If we take the term "product of labor" to mean the whole value of the product, then the co-operative product of labor is the TOTAL SOCIAL PRODUCT.

From this is to be deducted:

FIRST: The proportion required for the replacement of the means of production used up.

SECONDLY: An additional portion for the expansion of production.

THIRDLY: A reserve and insurance fund against mischance, disturbances through the forces of nature, etc.

These deductions from the "unabridged product of labor" are an economic necessity, and their magnitude has to be determined according to the existing means and forces, in part by probability calculations, but in no way can they be calculated from the idea of justice.

There remains the other portion of the total product, destined to serve as means of consumption.

Before this can be distributed among the individuals, there are again to be deducted from it:

FIRST: THE GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES THAT DO NOT FORM A PART OF PRODUCTION.

This portion is from the outset very considerably reduced in comparison with present society, and diminishes in the same measure in which the new society develops.

SECONDLY: THAT PORTION WHICH IS DESTINED FOR THE SATISFACTION OF COMMON WANTS, such as schools, provision for the protection of the public health, etc.

This portion is, from the very outset, considerably larger than in present society and increases in the same measure in which the new society develops.

THIRDLY: FUNDS FOR THOSE UNABLE TO WORK, etc., in short for what now belongs to so-called public charity.

Only now do we come to that "distribution" which the platform, under Lassallian influence, stupidly has alone in view, namely, that portion of the means of consumption which is distributed among the individual producers of the community.

The "unabridged product of labor" has in our hands changed to an "abridged" one, although what escapes the producer as a private individual, directly or indirectly benefits him as a member of society.

• • •

Within the co-operative society, based on the common ownership of the means of production, the producers do not exchange their products; just as little does the labor expended on the products appear here AS THE VALUE of these products, as a material quality possessed by them, since now, in contradistinction from capitalist society, the individual labor forms a constituent part of the total labor not indirectly, but directly.

• • •

What we are dealing with here is a communist society, not as it has DEVELOPED on its own basis, but, on the contrary, as it is just ISSUING out of capitalist society; hence, a society that still retains, in every respect, economic, moral and intellectual, the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it is issuing. Accordingly, the individual producer gets back—after the deductions—exactly as much as he gives to it. What he has given to it is his individual share of labor. The social labor day consists of the sum of individual labor hours; the individual labor time of the single producer is the fraction of the social labor day supplied by him, his share of it. He receives from the community a check showing that he has done so much labor (after deducting his labor due to the common fund), and with this check he draws from the common store as much of the means of consumption as costs an equal amount of labor. The same quantity of labor that he has given to society in one form, he receives back in another form.

Evidently, there prevails here the same principle that to-day regulates the exchange of commodities, inasmuch it is an exchange of equivalents. Substance and form have changed, because under the changed conditions no one can give anything except his labor, and because, on the other hand, nothing can go over into the possession of individuals, except individual means of consumption. But so far as the distribution of the latter among the individual consumers is concerned, the came principle prevails as in the exchange of commodity-equivalents; an equal quantity of labor in one form is exchanged for an equal quantity of labor in another form.

Hence, EQUAL RIGHT is here still CAPITALIST RIGHT, although principle and practice are no longer in conflict with each other, as is the case with regard to the exchange of commodities, where an exchange in equivalents exists only IN THE AVERAGE, not for the individual case.

Notwithstanding this progress, the EQUAL RIGHT is still tainted with a capitalist limitation. The right of the producers is PROPORTIONAL to their contribution of labor; the equality consists in this that the right is measured by an EQUAL STANDARD: labor.

However, one person is physically or intellectually superior to the other, furnishes, therefore, more labor in the same time, or can work during a longer time; and in order to serve as a measure, labor must be determined according to duration or intensity, otherwise it would cease to serve as a standard. This EQUAL right is unequal right for unequal labor. It does not recognize class distinctions, for every one is only a laborer like everybody else; but it tacitly recognizes unequal individual endowment, and, hence, efficiency, as natural privileges. IT IS, THEREFORE, IN ITS SUBSTANCE, A RIGHT OF INEQUALITY, LIKE ALL RIGHT. According to its nature, right can consist only in the application of a common standard; but the unequal individuals (and they would not be individuals if they were not unequal) can be measured according to a common standard only in so far as they are brought under the same point of view, are regarded from a PARTICULAR side only. For example, in the given instance they are regarded ONLY AS LABORERS; we see nothing more in them, we disregard everything else. Moreover, one laborer is married, the other is not married; one has more children than the other, etc., etc. Hence, with equal distribution of labor and, therefore, equal shares in the social consumption-fund, the one receives actually more than the other, the one is richer than the other, etc. In order to avoid all these shortcomings, right would have to be not equal, but unequal.

But these shortcomings are unavoidable in the first phase of communist society, as it has just issued from capitalist society after long travail. Right can never be superior to the economic development and the stage of civilization conditioned thereby.

In the higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual under the division of labor has disappeared, and with it also the opposition between manual and intellectual labor; after labor has become not only a means of life, but also the highest want in life; when, with the development of all the faculties of the individual, the productive forces have correspondingly increased, and all the springs of social wealth flow more abundantly—only then may the limited horizon of capitalist right be left behind entirely, and society inscribe on its banners: "From everyone according to his faculties, to everyone according to his needs!"

I went rather extensively into the "unabridged product of labor," "the equal right" and "the just distribution," in order to show how mischievous it is on the one hand to attempt to foist upon our Party, as axioms, notions that at one time had a meaning, but have now become mere antiquated fustian; and, on the other hand, to pervert the realistic conception, which has been so painfully impressed on the Party, but has now struck root in it, with the ideological flummery of justice, etc., which is so current among the Democrats and the French Utopians.

Aside from the above, it was altogether a mistake to make much of the so-called DISTRIBUTION, and to lay on this the chief emphasis.

The distribution of the means of consumption is but the result of the distribution of the factors of production. But the distribution of the latter is a characteristic of the very mode of production. For example, the capitalist mode of production rests on this that the material factors of production are allotted to the non-workers in the form of capital and landed property, while the mass of the people are owners only of the personal factor of production: labor-power. Given such a distribution of the elements of production, there results automatically the present distribution of the means of consumption. Given the common ownership of the material factors of production, there follows in the same way a distribution of the means of consumption different from the present. Utopian Socialism (and from it, again, a section of the Democracy) followed the capitalist economists in regarding and treating distribution as independent of production, and hence represented Socialism as turning chiefly around the question of distribution. After the true relationship has long been made clear, why again this backward step?

• • •

WAGES AND VALUE OF LABOR-POWER.

The Iron Law of Wages.

"Starting from these principles, the German Labor Party aims with all lawful means to establish the free State—and—the Socialist society; to abolish the wage system WITH THE IRON LAW OF WAGES—and—of exploitation in every form; to remove all social and political inequality."

Of the "free" State I will speak later.

So the German Labor Party must henceforth believe in Lassalle's "iron law of wages"! And in order that it may not be passed over unnoticed, you commit the absurdity to speak of the "abolition of the wage-system" (it should read: "system of wage-labor") WITH the "iron law of wages." If I abolish wage-labor, I, of course, abolish also its laws, be they made of iron or of sponge. But Lassalle's warfare against wage-labor turns almost entirely around this so-called law. Hence, in order to prove that the Lassallian sect has triumphed, the "wage-system" must be abolished "WITH the iron law of wages," and not without it.

It is well known that of the "iron law of wages" nothing belongs to Lassalle but the word "iron," borrowed from Goethe's "eternal, iron, great laws." The word IRON is the shibboleth by which the faithful recognise one an other. But if I take the law with Lassalle's label, and therefore in his sense, I must also take it with his demonstration. And what is this? As Lange showed, shortly after Lassalle's death, it is the Malthusian theory of population (preached by Lange himself). But if this theory is correct, then I can NOT abolish the law, even if I abolish wage-labor a hundred times, since in that case the law controls not only the system of wage-labor, but EVERY social system whatsoever. Relying on this very law the economists have proven for the past fifty years and more that Socialism cannot abolish NATURE-IMPOSED misery, but can only generalize it, distribute it simultaneously over the whole body of society!

But all this is not the main thing. DISREGARDING ENTIRELY THE FALSE Lassallian conception of the law, the truly revolting retrogression consists in this:

Since Lassalle's death the scientific knowledge has made its way in our Party that wages are not what they SEEM, namely, the VALUE or PRICE of LABOR, but only a disguised form for the VALUE OR PRICE OF LABOR-POWER. Thereby the whole capitalist theory of wages, hitherto prevailing, together with all the criticisms hitherto directed against it, was once and for all overthrown, and the fact clearly established that the laborer is only permitted to work for his living, *i. e.* to live, so long as he works a certain time gratis for the capitalist (hence also for those who share the surplus-value with the latter); that the pivot around which the entire capitalist system of production turns, is to increase the unpaid labor either by lengthening the working day, or by developing the productive powers of labor, or by straining the laborer to more intense exertion, etc., etc.; that, therefore, the system of wage-labor is a system of slavery, which, moreover, grows harder in proportion as the productive powers of labor are developed in society, no matter whether the laborer's pay is better or worse. And now, after this conception has become more and more accepted in our Party, you turn back to the dogmas of Lassalle, although you must know that Lassalle DID NOT KNOW what wages are, but followed the capitalist economists in taking the appearance for the essence.

It is just as if in a movement of slaves who have at last penetrated the mystery of slavery, and risen in rebellion, a slave, imbued with superannuated notions, would inscribe in the programme of the rebellion: "Slavery must be abolished, because under the system of slavery the slaves' food can never exceed a certain low maximum."

Is not the mere fact that the representatives of our Party were capable of committing such a monstrous outrage against the correct understanding prevailing among the rank and file of the Party, enough to show with what . . . frivolity . . . they went at the drawing-up this programme!

Instead of the vague phrase at the conclusion of the paragraph: "to remove all social and political inequality," it should have been said htat with the abolition of all class distinctions all social and political inequality springing from them will disappear of its own accord.

• • •

The State.

According to II the German Labor Party aims at "the free State."

"Free State"—what does that mean?

To free the STATE is by no means the aim of the workingmen who have emancipated themselves from what has been called "the subject's limited intelligence." The STATE is almost as "free" in the German Empire as in Russia. Liberty consists in this, that the State is transformed from an organ superior to society into one subordinate to it; and even now State institutions are more or less free in proportion as they limit the "freedom of the State."

The German Labor Party shows—at least, if it adopts this platform—that its Socialist ideas are not even skin-deep; since, instead of treating existing society (and this applies to every future society) as the BASIS of the existing State (or of any future State in case of a future society), it, on the contrary, treats the State as having independent existence with an intellectual, moral, free or unfree basis of its own.

The thing is made worse by the reckless misapplication of the words "PRESENT STATE," "PRESENT SOCIETY," and the still more reckless misconception of the nature of that State to which the demands of this platform are addressed!

"Present society" is the capitalist society, existing in all civilized countries, more or less free from feudal alloy, more or less modified through the peculiar historical development of each country, more or less highly developed. The "present State," on the other hand, changes the boundary line of each country. It is different in the Prusso-German Empire from Switzerland; different in England from the United States. "THE present State" is, therefore, a fiction.

In spite, however, of their manifold differences of form, the different States of the different civilized countries have this in common that all of them stand on the basis of modern capitalist society, though its capitalistic development be more or less advanced. Hence, they also have certain essential characteristics in common. In reference to these one may speak of the present "State institution" as distinguished from that of the future in which its present roots, capitalist society, will have decayed.

What, then, is the change which the institution of the State will undergo in a communistic society? In other words, what social function, analogous to the present functions of the State, will remain there? This question can be answered only by proceeding scientifically; the problem is not brought one flea's leap nearer its solution by a thousand combinations of the word "people" with the word "State."

Between the capitalist and the communist systems of society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. To this corresponds a political transition period, whose State institution can be nothing else but THE REVOLUTIONARY DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

What the platform demands applies neither to the transition State nor to the future State organization of Communist Society.

Its political demands contain nothing but the old democratic litany that the whole world knows: "universal suffrage," "direct legislation," "administration of justice by the people," "arming of the nation," etc. They are a mere echo of the middle-class People's Party, of the League for Freedom and Peace; they are, all of them, demands that, so far as they are not of an exaggerated, phantastic conception, are REALIZED NOW. Only the State in which they belong is not situated within the boundary lines of the German Empire, but in Switzerland, the United States, etc. This sort of "Future State" is present State, though existing outside the limits of the German Empire.

But one thing has been forgotten. Since the German Labor Party expressly declares that it is acting "within the present national State," hence ITS State, the Prusso-German Empire—most of its demands were otherwise absurd, since one demands only what he has not got—then it should not have forgotten the main thing, namely: that all these fine dainties rest on the recognition of the so-called sovereignty of the people, hence that they are in place only in a DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.

But since you are not in a position (and wisely so, for the circumstances impose caution) to demand the democratic republic, as the French labor programmes did during the reigns of Louis Philippe and Louis Napoleon, then you should not resort to the . . . subterfuge of demanding things that have a meaning only in a democratic republic, from a State that is nothing else than a military despotism adorned with parliamentary forms alloyed with feudalism, influenced by the capitalist class, bureaucratically constructed and police-protected . . .

Even the vulgar Democracy, which sees the millennium in the democratic republic and has no inkling of the fact that the class struggle is to be definitely fought out under this final form of State organization of capitalist society—even that vulgar Democracy overtops mountain-high the democratism that keeps within the limits of what the police permits and logic forbids.

You clearly show that you certainly mean by "State" nothing else but the government machine, i. e., the State in so far as it constitutes a distinct organism, differentiated from society through the division of labor, when you use the words: "The German Labor Party demands AS THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION OF THE STATE: a single progressive income tax, etc." Taxes are the foundation of the governmental machinery and of nothing else. In that "future State" which we find existing in Switzerland, this demand is quite realized. An income tax presupposes the different sources of income of the different social classes, hence capitalist society. It is, therefore, not at all strange that the financial reformers of Liverpool—capitalists, with Gladstone's brother at their head—make the same demand as this platform.

• • •

DIXI ET SALVAVI ANIMAM MEAM.

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[1]) Bracke, Geib, Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht were the leaders of the Marxist, or Eisenach wing of the Socialist movement of Germany. The Gotha Congress was called to consummate a fusion agreement, which had been reached with the Lassallian wing.

[2]) This was the first Socialist Convention held on German soil since the enactment of the Anti-Socialist Coercion Law in 1878. The law was killed by the large Socialist vote in 1890. Immediately after its expiration the Halle Convention was called and met in October of that year.

[3]) In the translation some unimportant portions have been omitteld.—Ed. THE PEOPLE.

"Welcome to God's Poor."

Eighteen hundred miserable wrecks, representing the flotsam and jetsam of humanity, were fed in Madison Square Garden on Christmas Day. The Salvation Army was there with its blare and trumpet to dole out the portions.

Around the building, comfortably seated in the boxes, were those who had perhaps contributed to the fund that provided this enormous dinner. They fulfilled the old Bible saying that "where your treasure is there will your heart be also," and these people not only brought their hearts but their beautiful bodies also, and their faces were wreathed in smiles and their eyes filled with tears as they gazed upon the scene. It could not have been a happy occasion to any one who looked upon these men and women, ravenous as hungry animals, tearful and timid, many of them faint with the gnawing emptiness of their stomachs. To any witness with a ray of intelligence in his make-up it must have occurred that on all the days of the coming year these people would have only the memory of this one "square" meal; that they would continue to live starved and stunted lives, and that this army of eighteen hundred souls would be re-inforced by hundreds more, as the weaker ones dropped from the ranks into nameless graves.

Can it be that any of the capitalists who read the mottoes on the wall, "Welcome to God's Poor," "Whosoever Will Let Him Come," and others just as sweet and inviting, felt not the mockery of the words? Can it be that any of them did not realize that all these miserable objects, all these dwarfed specimens of humanity, were creations of the capitalist system, of which they were pillars, the system for which they were working and voting to perpetuate?

"The Salvation Army means well," some folks say—but that day in Madison Square Garden, and on all other days and occasions they pat the capitalists' back and hold out their hands for more "salve" to cover up the sores and wounds they (the capitalists) have made by their grindstones of commercialism and guns of their allies in the government. At the same time these soldiers of the Salvation Army tell the givers of the "Balm of Gilead" that they will win a soft place in heaven for their generosity on earth. Of course, it is a comfort for them to know that they will not have to roast in the next world when they have been having such a soft time on the cushions of earth.

The incident which is here recorded was repeated in all the cities of Christendom on Christmas Day, and MUST mean something to the men and women of our country who are not capitalists. What more terrible climax can be reached? What can be more moving than such a spectacle? Will the entire force of working men and working women look on coldly and impassively? Will they quietly await the inevitable storms that will sweep them all into just such drift wood? How much longer will these glaring contrasts need to be brought home to them before they will see the truth?

Even in the very consciousness of such events men will still shut their eyes to the strong light of contrasts, and claim that they are satisfied with our system. The only comfort we can take when the bitterness of realization comes over us of these terrible conditions that exist in the "progress of the civilization of the twentieth century" is the fact that there is a revolutionary tendency growing, that is already crystallized into organization. That the Socialist Labor Party has not only caught the true revolutionary spirit, but that it is ready to apply its scientific remedies to the diseases of society.

VICTOR LEWIS.

SOCIALIST LITERATURE

FOR THOSE WHO WISH TO STUDY SOCIALISM.

We are often asked what books we would recommend for those who wish to study Socialism. Below we have prepared two lists of such books. List No. 1 should be read in the order given. Follow this up with List No. 2, and then you will know what Socialism is.

ALL OF THESE BOOKS ARE PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

LIST NO. I.

The six books on this list will be sent to any address for 25 cents.

What Means This Strike.

By Daniel DeLeon. Paper, 5 cents.

"What Means this Strike?" is an address delivered before the striking textile workers of New Bedford, Massachusetts. It is the best thing extant with which to begin the study of Socialism. The whole range of capitalist production is examined and analyzed in the light of Socialist Science.

Reform or Revolution.

By Daniel DeLeon. Paper, 5 cents.

An address delivered at Boston under the auspices of the People's Union. The keynote of the address is to show the difference between Reform and Revolution, and to demonstrate that the working class can get nothing out of reforms.

Socialism.

By W. S. McClure. Paper, 5 cents.

A comprehensive exposition of Capitalist Society, its contradictions, its brutality, and its approaching demolition. The author scientifically demonstrates the inevitableness of Socialism. This book will silence those who admit the desirability but deny the possibility of the Socialist Republic.

Territorial Expansion.

By Lucien Sanial. Paper, 5 cents.

"Territorial expansion" was written to show what a trustworthy guide the Socialist conception of history is in tracing the causes of the rush for territorial expansion by modern capitalist nations in general and the United States in particular. In the words of the author "They must expand abroad or burst." The attempt of the American capitalists to subjugate the Philippines is treated from the Socialist point of view. And "surplus value" is clearly explained.

Taxation.

By Lucien Sanial. Paper, 5 cents.

It is the favorite assertion of capitalist political economists and politicians that the Working Class pay the taxes. It is, on the contrary, a terse statement of the Socialist Labor Party that the Working Class pay no taxes. The pamphlet "Taxation" has been written by Lucien Sanial, under the direction of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party, to demonstrate that the Socialist position is impregnable.

The New Trusts.

The Middle Class.

German Trade Unionism.

By Lucien Sanial. Paper 5 cents.

This book is a most valuable one to all who would intelligently grasp the "Trust Problem." It is replete with facts to prove the correctness of the position of the Socialist Labor Party that the Trust is but another step of Capitalism toward its own grave dug by its own forces. The man who wishes facts on the "Trust" should not be without this book. It is the only book published that treats the Trust from the point of view of the Working Class, and it is likewise the only book that brings the data down to date. There are also interesting monographs on "The Origin, Rise and Decline of the Middle Class," and on "German Trade Unionism."

LIST NO. 2.

The six books on this list will be sent to any address for 25 cents.

The Capitalist Class.

By Karl Kautsky. Adapted to America. Paper, 5 cents.

A clear-cut discussion of Capitalism as it affects the Working Class. The book is an admirable antidote for the "political economy" of the average college professor. The chapters on "Ground Rent" and "Taxation" are valuable on the Single Tax fallacy.

The Proletariat.

By Karl Kautsky. Adapted to America. Paper, 5 cents.

"The Proletariat" should be read after "The Capitalist Class." The history and growth of the Working Class and the effect of Capitalist Production on the Working Class are vividly portrayed. The chapter on "The Educated Proletariat" is highly instructive.

The Class Struggle.

By Karl Kautsky. Adapted to America. Paper, 5 cents

The struggle for supremacy between the Working Class and the Capitalist Class becomes more marked and acute as Capitalist Production develops. "The Class Struggle" is a comprehensive description of the nature of the contest and its probable outcome. The book is the complement of the two preceding ones.

The Co-Operative Commonwealth.

By Karl Kautsky. Adapted to America. Paper, 5 cents.

About the first thing a man wishes to know after he realizes that Capitalism cannot last, is: "What is going to be put in its place?" This book is an arsenal of facts as to the broad lines on which the Socialist Republic will appear, and it is the only work in English that gives a scientific treatment on the subject. The chapter on "The 'Plan' of the Co-operative Commonwealth" will be very instructive to those who wish the specifications of the future social organization. This book should be read in connection with the three preceding ones. The four, taken together, are known as the "Kautsky Pamphlets."

The Religion of Capital.

By Paul Lafargue. Adapted to America. Paper, 5 cents.

"The Religion of Capital" is a very instructive satire on the characteristics and crimes of the Capitalist Class. The political economy of the Capitalists, with their apologies for their robberies and their murders, is given in language that is cogent with power.

Tragic Pages: A Study of the Labor Fakir.

By Thomas A. Hickey. Paper, 5 cents.

The Socialist Labor Party asserts that trade unions that support at the ballot box the capitalist political parties are either conscious or unconscious enemies of the Working Class, and that "labor leaders" of the Samuel Gompers stripe, who advise the Working Class to support these parties, are double-dyed rascals in particular and murderers of the Working Class in general. These "labor leaders" are called "fakirs" by the Socialists, and the unions that they "lead" are called "pure and simple" unions. And if one wishes cumulative evidence of the rascality of the fakirs, one has but to read "Tragic Pages." Mr. Hickey takes the United Mine Workers' Union as a type, and by examining its recent history, especially the history of its strikes, shows that the "miners lie naked in the storm, while their labor fakir leaders revel in debauch and riot for the favor of a brothel mistress."

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☞See blank in last column.☜

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NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 61 Beekman street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS (pro tem.)—Thomas Curran, Secretary, 64 Hanover street, Providence, R. I.

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NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—147 East 23rd street, New York City. (The party's literary agency.)

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting, Dec. 26, 1899, with J. H. Sauter in the chair. Absent, Kinneally, Fiebiger and Keep, the former without, the two latter with excuse. The financial report for the week ending Dec. 23d showed receipts, $30.70; expenditures, $20.80.

The committee elected to look into the matter of purchasing type-setting machines reported, recommending that the negotiations be entered into at once and that three members be chosen to act as trustees for the Socialist Labor Party, the owner of the daily paper to be established. Concurred in.

Resolved, to issue a call for the nominations for a delegate to the International Congress, to be held in Paris next year.

Sections Somerville, Mass., and Lawrence, Mass., reported nominations for the place of holding the national convention, the former nominating New York, the latter Providence. Louis Doll, of Jacksonville, Fla., was upon application admitted a member at large. Charter granted to Section Yohoghany, Pa., and copy of new charter asked for and granted to Section San Antonio, Tex. The following expulsions, for conspiracy against the Party, were reported by Section Boston, Mass.: Jacob Epstein, Harry Sherman, Mayer Tafshinsky, S. O. Shaughnessy, Lawrence A. Henchy, Francis Sespanski, Jacob Marnett and Samuel Zorn.

The Illinois State Committee reported that, after useless negotiation with the Arbejderen Publishing Association, they desire to refer the whole matter back to the N. E. C. for action. Resolved to repudiate the paper in question as an official organ of the Socialist Labor Party and to disown any responsibility for its contents.

The secretary reported that the general vote has overwhelmingly been in favor of Providence as the permanent seat of the National Board of Appeals, the vote for the various cities nominated running as follows: Providence, 1310; Pittsburg, 37; Chicago, 17; Boston, 16; Lima, 7; Cleveland, 5; Indianapolis, 5; Milwaukee, 3; St. Louis, 3; Detroit, 1; Denver, 1; San Francisco, 1; a total of 1,409 votes,

A. S. BROWN,
Rec. Secretary pro tem.

A Call.

To the Sections of the Soc. Labor Party.

Comrades:

In accordance with Art. IV, Section 1, of the Party constitution, you are hereby called upon to make nominations for the place where the national convention of the Socialist Labor Party for 1900 is to be held. The nominations made must be reported to the undersigned on or before January 31, 1900, and will then be submitted to the referendum vote of the members.

Organizers of Sections will please see to it that this call is read at the next regular meeting of their respective Sections and that the nominations made are promptly reported at headquarters. The Section being the unit of organization, each Section can nominate but one city. There is no need of reporting the vote cast, the simple report that the Section places in nomination a certain city being sufficient.

By order of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.,

HENRY KUHN, Nat. Sec.

ILLINOIS.

BELLEVILLE, ILL.—Section Belleville has the pleasure to announce another increase in the S. L. P. vote this year. At a special election held in the First Ward our candidate received 62 votes out of a total of 367. Last Spring we received 34 out of total of 400 votes. We ought to feel proud of this increase, but we are not satisfied and will not be until we land our candidates in public offices, where they will legislate in our interest and against Capitalist interests. Section Belleville has learned that for class-conscious action by the working class they must be educated by class-conscious literature, and we will push that class of reading matter alone.

HARRY R. BLOEMSMA, Org.

NEW JERSEY.

HUDSON COUNTY.—The headquarters of the Section was burnt out on last December 31; the Section's loss is from $500 to $600; insured. The loss, tho' heavy, does not discourage. Plan for new headquarters already formed.

NEW YORK.

SECTION GREATER NEW YORK, S. L. P.—Proceedings of General Committee, December 23, 1899, 8.30 p. m., at 528 E. Eleventh st., Manhattan. Chairman, Rudolph Katz; vice-chairman, L. Neumann. The nominations for the place of the national convention, the National Executive Committee and a national secretary were deferred until the next meeting so as to allow sufficient time to deliberate upon these matters. Seventy-three new members were admitted. Roll call showed the following absentees:

MANHATTAN:—2d, 4th, 9th, 12th, 13th, 15th and 17th A. D., and the Italian Branch.

BROOKLYN:—2d, 5th, 12th, 15th, 16th, 18th and 21st A. D., and 349th and 6th Ward Branches.

(Organizations will please take notice.)

The Organizer reported the arrangement of the following lectures by Comrade Heichez in Brooklyn:

January 6th, 1900	21st A. D.
January 16th, 1900	16th and 18th A. D.
January 18th, 1900	7th A. D.
January 19th, 1900	12th A. D.

The 12th Assembly District, Brooklyn, will give lectures regularly on the second and fourth Fridays of each month at Geise's hall, 427 12th st.

The 14th and 16th Assembly Districts, Manhattan, will give lectures regularly every Friday night (address to be announced in calendar in THE PEOPLE).

The largest part of the session was consumed in the adoption of the draft of by-laws submitted by the Committee on Revision of By-Laws, and the Organizer instructed to refer these to a general vote for final adoption.

Adjournment followed.

A. C. KIHN, secretary.

WISCONSIN.

MILWAUKEE.—The semi-annual general meeting of Section Milwaukee, S. L. P., will take place on Sunday, January 14, 1900, at 3 o'clock p. m., at Kaiser's Hall, on Fourth street.

Order of Business:
1. Reports of Officers.
2. Election of new Officers.

RICHARD KOEPPEL, Org.,
1035 Fifth Street.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
—OF THE—
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic, we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic, we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessaries of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

Resolutions.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.
2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal Government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
4. The public lands to be declared inalienable Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.
5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.
6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.
7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.
8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.
9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitious and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.
10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.
11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.
12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).
13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.
14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.
15. The people to have the right to propose laws, and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.
16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.
17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.
18. Municipal self-government.
19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.
20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.
21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

GENERAL EXECUTIVE RBOAD, S. T. & L. A.

I.

New York, Dec., 1899.

The regular meeting of the General Ex. Board was held on December 7, at 23 Duane street. Members present: Murphy, Cohen, Vogt and Brower.

Comrade Vogt was chosen chairman.

Communications:—

One from D. A. 17, requesting the Board to have the proceedings of the last convention printed, and also requesting that the Board have some pamphlets printed, explaining the position of the S. T. & L. A. towards the S. L. P., to be used for agitation purposes.

Action on Communication: Secretary was instructed to ascertain what it would cost to have the same printed.

One from L. A. 263, of Seattle, Wash., stating that they had decided to add on 50 cents to the initiation fee, and furnish the candidate with THE PEOPLE for one year; if the candidate was already a subscriber to THE PEOPLE, the extra 50 cents was to go into the Organizing Fund of the S. T. & L. A.

One from Comrade Dyer, of L. A. 185, complaining of the state of affairs existing among the Locals and District of the Alliance in Boston, Mass.

Action: On motion, Comrade Frank McDonald was commissioned to investigate the same and report back to the Board.

Communications were also received from: Fall River, Mass.; Providence, R. I.; Rochester, N. Y.; London, Ont.; Pueblo, Colo.; Summit, N. J.; New Bedford, Mass.; Yonkers, N. Y.; Akron, O.; Pittsburg, Kans.; Sing Sing, N. Y.; Lynn, Mass.; Vancouver, B. C.; Haverhill, Mass.; Chicago, Ill.; River Point, R. I.; Cincinnati, O.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Bradenville, Pa.; El Paso, Tex.; Beidler, O.; asking information, forwarding dues, etc.

Charters were granted to:
Rockvale Mixed Alliance, Brewster, Colo.
Shoe Workers, Sing Sing, N. Y.
Manchester Mixed Trade Alliance, Allegheny, Pa.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

WM. L. BROWER, Gen. Sec'y.

II.

New York, Dec., 1899.

The regular meeting of the Gen. Ex. Board was held on Dec. 29, 1899, at 23 Duane street. Members present: Luck, Vogt, De Leon, and Brower.

Communications:—

One from Comrade Fred Pandorf, of Cincinnati, O., stating that the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders of Akron, O., had refused to recognize the card of the Alliance. Received and filed.

One from the Sing Sing Shoe Workers stating that several of the girls who had joined the Local had been discharged, and requested that a member of the G. E. B. attend their meeting and advise them how to proceed to put a stop to this sort of persecution.

The General Secretary stated that he had attended the meeting and advised them what to do. They had followed this advice, and the Secretary received a telegram from them the next day saying that the trouble had been settled satisfactorily to all concerned.

Communications were also received from: Jersey City, N. J.; Arctic, R. I.; Detroit, Mich.; Lynn, Mass.; New Bedford, Mass.; Stoneham, Mass.; Boston, Mass.; Montreal, Can.; River Point, R. I.; Pueblo, Colo.; Blackstone, Mass.; Washington, D. C.; Pittsburg, Penn.; Newark, N. J.; San Francisco, Cal.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Denver, Colo.; Vancouver, B. C.; and San Antonio, Tex., asking general information, forwarding dues, etc.

Applications for charters were received from:
Canton Mixed Trade Alliance, Canton, O.
Bed Spring Makers' Union, N. Y. City, N. Y.
Haverhill Pioneer Alliance, Haverhill, Mass.
On motion, same were granted.

Communication from D. A. 4, of Newark, N. J., in relation to the strike of the Silk Weavers of Summit, N. J., and forwarding an appeal for financial assistance for the strikers with a request that the Board endorse the same.

The Secretary stated that before any action be taken on this communication he would like to submit his report on this strike. The Secretary's report (which appears in another part of this issue) was read; after a general discussion, the request of D. A. 4, to endorse the appeal, was denied.

The General Secretary then reported that new supplies are now ready for distribution, and all Districts and isolated Locals should send in their orders for the same.

WM. L. BROWER, Gen. Sec'y.

7th Assembly District, S. L. P.,

BROOKLYN, N. Y., will hold an

Agitation Meeting, At Finley's Hall,

3d Ave. and 53d St., South Brooklyn

On Thursday, January 18th, 8 P. M. sharp.

The author of the Bull Pen story, published on the front page of this issue, National Organizer for the S. L. P., **Thos. J. Hickey,** will lecture on

"AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Everybody welcome. Admission free. After the lecture free discussion.

Workingmen of South Brooklyn! Come to this meeting, and you will hear something of great interest to you.

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Trades' & Societies' Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of $5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

GENERAL OFFICE, SOCIALIST TRADE AND LABOR ALLIANCE: 23 Duane street, Room 96, New York City. General Secretary: William L. Brower. Financial Secretary, Murphy. General Executive Board Meetings: 1st, 3rd and 5th Thursday evenings at 8 p. m. Secretary Board of Appeals: Max Keller, 1016 Hope street, Philadelphia, Pa.

DAILY PEOPLE CONFERENCE meets every second and fourth Sunday, at 2 P. M., at 98 Avenue C, New York.
E. SIFF,
362 Canal street, Financial Secretary.

SOCIALISH LABOR PARTY HEADQUARTERS of 34th and 35th A. D., 481 Willis Ave. Business meeting every Friday evening. Free reading room and Pool parlor open day and evening. Free lectures every Sunday evening. Subscriptions for this paper received.

SECTION AKRON, S. L. P., MEETS EVERY first and third Sunday, at 2 P. M. Kramer Hall, 167 S. Howard St. Organizer, Simon, 349 N. Arlington St.

THE N. J. STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P., meets first Sunday each month, 10 A. M., headquarters, Essex Co. Socialist Club, Springfield ave., Newark, N. J. Address communications to John Hossack, 105 Princeton ave., Jersey City, N. J., Sec'y.

SECTION ESSEX COUNTY, S. L. P. The County Committee representing the Sections meets every Sunday, 10 a. m., in the hall of Essex County Socialist Club, 78 Springfield avenue, Newark, N. J.

SECTION LOS ANGELES, S. L. P. Headquarters and Free Reading Room, 205½ South Main st. Public meetings every Sunday, 8 p.m., at Foresters' Temple, 129½ West 1st st. cor. Spring.

HARLEM SOCIALIST CLUB, headquarters of 32d and 33d A. D., 169 E. 109th st. Business meetings every Tuesday. Free reading room open from 7.30 p. m. to 10.30. Subscriptions for this paper received.

MUSICAL PROTECTIVE ALLIANCE, No. 1028, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters, 79 East 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 12 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, President; Aug. Lantz, Corr. Sec'y, 79 East 4th street.

NEW YORK MACHINISTS' LOCAL 274, S. T. & L. A., meets every second and fourth Friday, at 8 p. m., at 528 E. 11th street. Secretary K. Wallberg.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY meets every 2d and 4th Friday, 8 P. M., at Carpenter Hall, 781 Chapel st. Westville Branch meets every 3d Tuesday at St. Joseph's Hall. Visitors are welcome.

PROGRESSIVE CLOTHING CUTTERS AND TRIMMERS' UNION, L. A. 68 of S. T. & L. A. Headquarters, 79 East 4th street. Regular meeting 1st and 3d Mondays, at 8 p. m.

SKANDINAVIAN SECTION, S. L. P., Branch 1. Meets second and fourth Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a. m., at 140 East street. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, Arbetaren.

SCANDINAVIAN SECTION, BRANCH 2, meets first and third Sunday of every month at 10 A. M., at Linnea Hall, 319 Atlantic avenue, Brooklyn.

WAITERS' ALLIANCE "LIBERTY," No. 19, S. T. & L. A. Office, 257 E. Houston street. Telephone Call: 2321 Spring. Meets every Thursday, 3 p. m.

WEST HARLEM SOCIALIST CLUB, Headquarters of the 23d A. D., 312 W. 143d st. Business meeting, 2d and 4th Tuesdays. Free reading room. Open 8 to 10 P. M. Subscriptions for this paper received. Visitors are welcome.

WORKINGMEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB, 14th Assembly District. Business meeting every Thursday evening, at 8 o'clock, in the Clubhouse, 528 East Eleventh street. Lectures every Sunday evening. Bowling alley and billiard room open every evening. Visitos welcome.

SUBSCRIPTION BLANK.

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